361 Though Monckton reports (1921) a few large villages in the early post-contact
period, it is only recently, in response to Australian pressure, that multi-clan
167 villages, with populations ranging from 100 to 500, have become common. Most
of the plantations found in the Northern district have been established by
464 Australian ex-servicemen supported by government loans. A number of Orokaiva
have been drawn to work on these plantations, others to jobs in Popondetta,
others again to service with the police, the armed forces or employers outside
[162] the district. Such migration has substantially reduced the proportion of the male
village population group.[2]

2. *Technology and Aesthetics*

412 We possess only the briefest description of Orokaiva industry (in Williams 1930).
Although I did collect additional data, the traditional technology has been
177 transformed to such an extent that my data must needs be fragmentary. The
only axes and adzes now in use are made of steel; most of the various
stone-made cutting tools described by Williams are no longer in use, being
replaced by the ubiquitous bush knife wielded by young and old, male and
female. One exception is worth noting, if only to emphasise an element of
continuity: cockle shells are still used for the scraping of coconuts and for the
[237] shaping and decorating of pots. Most of the needles used by women are still
made of flying fox bones (*poma*), even though a few needles have at times been
obtained from the Mission. While files for sharpening tools are necessarily made
of steel, rough leaves still serve as tools for scraping pots, smoothing down wood,
[227] etc. The same mixture in the use of basic tools is found in agriculture, hunting,
and fishing: we still find the digging stick but also the axe; traditional hand nets
412 and fishing spears (with steel tips), but also snorkels. For hunting, traditional
devices have been almost entirely replaced by the shot gun. The old technology
177 is still basically intact in those few industries which are directly related to
ceremonial life: the making and decorating of loin cloths, feather headdresses,
[294] ceremonial weaponry, musical instruments such as drums. Certain other
[412] specifically feminine artifacts (mats, baskets, string bags) are still produced and
in use, while much of the contemporary Orokaiva house-building technology is
[534] traditional, Fine wickerwork for ceremonial objects (armlets, spear decorations,
[285] etc.) is still made by some of the older men. Orokaiva women have almost
stopped making pots, though this was an important industry in pre-contact
[286] times. While trade goods are used for everyday purposes, such pots as are still
[323] made serve as gifts to women at the time of marriage. They are kept for
sentimental reasons, but we were able to see only very few.

262 An everyday Orokaiva meal consists of taro, often with a few vegetable
condiments: coconut milk, cordyline tips, or edible pitpit,[3] or one of a number
[263] of herbs, sometimes of supposed medicinal value. Much care is devoted to the
[243] cooking of the taro and variety is provided partly by a choice from many
varieties of taro growing in most gardens. In the dry season, any of a number of
subsidiary foods (sweet potato, German taro, yam, banana, breadfruit and
several others) may be added to make the taro stretch further. Meat or fish is
eaten only rarely, usually on festive occasions. Foods like tea, sugar, bread and
258 salt are also reserved for such occasions. Although several traditional methods of
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making salt were described to me, the housewife depends mainly on trade salt. 258
Meals never consist of more than one course. Plates, forks and spoons are owned 263
by all households but people do not always use them. While boiling is the most
common way of preparing food, bananas, yams and breadfruit are usually 264
roasted. Meat is often preserved by daily smoking, sometimes for long periods. 415
There is a rule against eating meat 'in lent' and this is kept very strictly, but
probably for traditional religious reasons to be discussed later. The main drink 252
with meals is a soup consisting of the water in which the vegetables and herbs 251
were cooked.

Foraging. A good deal of plant and animal food is obtained from foraging, 272
especially in the tropical rain forest which covers most of the Northern District.
Among foraged animal foods I would mention especially grubs, frogs, snails, rats, 222
bush eggs and lice. Foraged plant foods are especially valued during the dry [224]
season when roots, leaves and fern fronds may make up part of a meal. Savoury
herbs and leaves, however, are collected at all times of the year. Some food [422]
plants, though growing in the forest, are owned by individuals so that the
gathering of these plants may be better described as harvesting than collecting.
The most important are the *tauga* and *puga* nut, sago, breadfruit, wild fig, and
fruiting pandanus.[4]

Hunting. According to Waddell and Krinks, about two man-hours weekly 224
are spent on hunting (3.7 hours by men and 0.3 hours by women). Hunting
patterns on the Mount Lamington foothills differ widely from those on the
alluvial plains where kunai grass is widespread. On the foothills, there is hunting
in reverted gardens and in very limited areas of virgin bush. The usual quarry
consists of small marsupials and birds. If a pig is encountered, it is invariably a [422]
village pig whose owner has a claim to the carcase. The game population was [411]
virtually exterminated after the introduction of guns in the 1950s. In the kunai [177]
country, on the other hand, hunting land is abundant. The technique is by firing
the kunai so that the animals can be shot when they escape. Such a hunt requires
a large number of men who ring the burnt-over area. Not only marsupials but
also pigs are killed, either by gunfire or by being roasted alive in the kunai grass.
By no means all animals killed in the fire are retrieved. Fires tend to get out of
hand and to spread over surrounding bush land which then is often covered with
kunai grass and so is useless for purposes of cultivation.

Fishing. The supply of fish has suffered greatly with the introduction of 226
snorkels after the Second World War, as this equipment enabled the Orokaiva to [227]
fish out their rivers almost completely in a very short time. Fish is still an
important resource, however, in the lower reaches of the huge rivers which run [177]
through the Northern District: Kumusi, Ambogo, Girua, Sambogo, etc. In [133]
Inonda, the village studied by Crocombe and Hogbin (1963) and Waddell and
Krinks (1968), 3.8 man hours per week are spent on fishing, mostly with spears,
and the product is used not only for consumption but also for trade. (Inonda
people also trade meat and bush eggs.) Many of the villages near the mountain,
such as Sivepe, have very little fish. Apart from a few eels and crabs, the rivers
contained a small supply of two-inch-long fishes caught in April with a small
hand-net used as a scoop. (See Williams 1930:53 for description.)

Animal Husbandry. There are three kinds of domestic livestock: pigs, dogs 231
and fowls. Every man still has one or more small dog which he uses for hunting

231 but which, as Williams says in his discussion on Orokaiva domestic animals (1930: 60–3), are all ultimately destined for the pot. The fowl population has likewise remained more or less constant for some time (e.g. about 30 in Inonda,
235 40 in Sivepe). The birds are useful not only as a source of meat and eggs, but also of cockerel feathers which are plucked and used for decoration on headdresses, spears, etc. Unlike the dogs, the fowls are no longer a purely
[177] indigenous variety: they have been crossed with Rhode Island Reds introduced in the 1950s.

231 A few years before I did my fieldwork, the government began a vigorous campaign to eliminate pig husbandry from Orokaiva villages, in an attempt to
[744] improve village hygiene. Though this campaign generally was not very successful, domestic pigs had all but disappeared from the villages where I stayed. Like the other domestic animals they were left to forage for food most of the time but were also fed with pieces of taro and other left-over food, as well as pawpaw, coconut, etc. They mostly slept under the houses, but were free to roam. Males
[825] were castrated and females were fertilised by boars roaming in the bush. A close *quasi*-kinship link was assumed to exist between the pig and its keepers, and this was emphasised by taboos on eating a pig reared by a close relative. Techniques of domestication will be discussed below.

241 *Horticulture*. The Orokaiva word *pure* has at least two important meanings: 'work' and 'garden'. As elsewhere in Papua–New Guinea, the garden is a centre of sexual, social, religious as well as industrial activity.

The main product is taro which occupies perhaps nine tenths of the area. But a great variety of other plants are also found: banana, sugar-cane, edible pitpit, German taro (*xantosoma*), a few introduced vegetables such as pineapples, tomatoes, beans, and some sweet potato. Some trees may also be planted though these will not bear until long after the garden has been abandoned: breadfruit, *tauga*, coconut, areca. In addition there are always some herbs and medicines, and if the gardener is a professional medicine man there will be a great many of these. Yams are grown in separate gardens.

Very full data on the size of these gardens have been provided by Crocombe and Hogbin (1963) and Rimoldi (1966). A household tends to establish something like one and a half to two acres of garden per year. A garden is never used for more than one taro season, but as planting and consumption of the taro each tend to be stretched over most of a year, almost two years elapse between the clearing and final abandonment. This gives time for the bananas and sugar-cane to reach maturity too. Once a garden is abandoned, it is not used again for at least eight years or so. The usual swidden agriculture techniques are used, burning, clearing, careful removal of 'rubbish' remaining after the burning process, planting with a digging stick, periodic attention to weeding and heaping up of earth around growing taro, removal of corm-bearing bases of petioles of
[242] mature taro for removal and planting in a new garden. The Orokaiva practise no irrigation, no form of terracing or drainage, no manuring, no measures against parasites. Sometimes a fence is made out of tree trunks to keep pigs from breaking in. This is usually done only after a pig has made its first expedition, and only on the side where the pig entered.

While planting and harvesting proceeds almost throughout the year there are
[132] important seasonal variations that should not be ignored. There is a dry and a

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241 [132] wet season throughout the Northern Territory. On the Mount Lamington foothills, the dry season is comparatively short and somewhat undependable, but it is usually over by the beginning of September. Here cultivators must be sure to have enough dry weather for a successful burn prior to planting. 'A significant proportion of the mineral energy upon which swidden cultivates draw for their growth comes from the ash remains of the fired forest, so that the completeness with which a plot is burnt is a crucial factor in determining its yield, a fact of which probably all swidden cultivators are aware.' (Geertz 1966: 22–3) Furthermore, it is unwise to leave the burn until too late in the dry season, for if the soil has dried out (which it does quickly in the tropics), taro plants develop few shoots, so that the gardener may be short of shoots for planting out. Hence, I was told, a very substantial amount of clearing and planting needs to be done between June and August. There is thus a flush of produce nine or ten months later, i.e. from April to June. The same rhythm also applies in drier areas, nearer the coast, such as Inonda, because there the danger of the soil drying out is even greater and the dry season much longer. When we find that the principal Orokaiva feasting season is from April to June, we can see that this is ecologically determined, as it is then that taro is most plentiful.[5]

243 476 While most subsidiary crops are grown in the taro garden, it is a fixed rule that taro and yam should never be grown together. While taro is usually grown by individual households, yams are planted and harvested by co-operative groups, around the same time as the main taro planting and harvest, but yams are usually stored for several months until the next dry season. Yam houses are built in yam gardens and used for the storage of no other crop.

245 249 177 473 *Arboriculture.* Although the Orokaiva traditionally planted coconut, betel-nut and a few other trees in gardens, villages and in the bush, their arboriculture used to be rudimentary in comparison to their precise and detailed attention to tubers, especially taro. The Australian authorities had hardly established themselves in Papua before they began to press the population into extensive arboriculture that would yield a cash income. One of the early 'native regulations' (No. 121, passed in 1903), compelled all Papuan villages to grow a stipulated number of rubber trees. Three such rubber stands were established at Sivepe, ranging from one half to three acres in area, all village men supposedly sharing in the work. Rimoldi (1966: 86–93), who describes in detail the vicissitudes of exploitation of these trees, shows how ill-adapted communal rubber stands are to a society lacking institutions for the distribution of corporate assets to its members. Nonetheless, a further stand was established, this time quite voluntarily, in 1964. They are known as the 'company trees', have not yielded any cash, and will be discussed in detail below as the land transactions involved cast light on the ideology of contemporary Orokaiva co-operative movements.

245 473 'Communal' village plantations for coffee were established in the Northern District under the same regulations as applied to rubber, but all producing trees in the villages I visited had been grown on quasi-individual holdings. First plantings were around 1955. On a rough estimate I would say that the number of trees in Sivepe and Hohorita, two villages on the foothills, were 3,500 and 15,000, while Inonda, on alluvial plains, had 800. Coffee is one crop that

actually has provided the Orokaiva with a reliable and substantial cash income 245
for some years. This is true to a very minor extent for the third cash crop 473
promoted on a major scale, copra, which was grown especially near the coast.
The coffee is processed and sent to a co-operative factory as parchment, for
which purpose many villages own one or more hullers. Copra is supposed to be
dried in driers built in the villages, but the one I saw in Inonda had broken down
and seems unlikely to be repaired.

Clothing. The traditional Orokaiva costume was a skirt for women and a 291
perineal band for men (Williams 1930: 32–4). Boys went naked until some time 287
before puberty, girls until after puberty seclusion. These garments were made of
barkcloth obtained from trees which were mostly grown in gardens for this
purpose. Larger garments were used for wrapping round the shoulders in cold
weather, and also for shrouds. This mode of dress was abandoned in the 1950s, so [177]
that today the Orokaiva buy their clothes almost entirely from trade stores and [438]
at mission bazaars. Traditional dress is used for dances, initiation ceremonies and
other special occasions. For this reason bark-cloth trees (such as the *ajimo*) are
found rather infrequently in gardens today. Bark-cloth is still being painted with
decorations in traditional style and with a mixture of traditional and trade dyes.

Housing. Villages are in flat clearings where the grass is kept scrupulously 361
cut and from which the women regularly sweep away rubbish. Houses (*bande*)
are built in two facing rows, each house normally being occupied by one nuclear
family. The roof of sago thatch slopes down from a central ridgepole. Wall 342
construction has been in various styles since Australian contact, but today [177]
vertically set sago-branch midribs are becoming old fashioned in some areas and
vertically laid shingles, about 6 ft. by 5⅜ ins., are being adopted in villages
desiring to show they are tuned in to modern life. A great number of tree species 313
must be used for the various parts of the house. Materials are taken as much as
possible from reverted gardens which contain small trees. For a number of
purposes large trees with trunks of high-quality slow-growing wood are
considered essential. These trees have to be obtained from areas of bush much
older than the usual reverted gardens. On the Mount Lamington foothills, such
areas are very scarce. Trees of this quality tend to be the subject of gift exchange
as between families, a subject to be discussed below.

Though it is each man's responsibility to build his own house, it is usual to 342
call on helpers, especially sons, brothers and brothers-in-law, to help with [476]
construction. Recent changes in house construction include the increasing use of
nails, though not for flooring; a remarkable increase in house sizes; the change in [177]
wall construction already mentioned, and a number of measures to 'improve'
hygiene: lavatories, rubbish holes, pens for chickens, windows. The windows, an
innovation promoted by the government to combat tuberculosis, are considered
too uncomfortable in cold, wind or rain. Accordingly, they are always covered
over with pieces of timber which can be removed if the patrol officer insists.[6]

Bachelors' houses (*oro*) are of precisely the same size and construction as the 345
ordinary *bande*. The more prominent men of the village build themselves small
meeting platforms, covered with a roof but lacking walls, for the entertainment
of visitors (*arara*). In the gardens, we find small houses with an earth floor, no
walls, but a platform just below roof level. People sit in these garden houses 343

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TABLE II/4

CHANGES IN HOUSE DESIGN, HOUSE CONSTRUCTION AND DOMESTIC AMENITIES IN SIVEPE, 1936–1966

(Comparison between standards reportedly applied on four successive village sites)

Elements	1. *Pusahambo (pre-war)*	2. *Pamba (between war and eruption)*	3. *Old Sivepe (after eruption, until 1965)*	4. *New Sivepe (1966)*
Floor level	Raised on posts	Raised on posts	Raised on posts	Raised on posts
Flooring material	Betelnut, wide gaps	Betelnuts, no gaps	Some betelnut, some blackpalm	Some betelnut, some blackpalm
Windows	No windows	No windows	Small windows	Large windows
No. of rooms	Three	Three	Three	Three
Walling material	Split sago	Split sago	Split sago	'Timber'
Nails: Framing	Nil	Younger people	General	General
Nails: walls	Nil	Nil	Nil	General
Shrubs	Beside houses	Beside houses	Beside houses	To mark paths
Betelnut	Planted	Planted	Planted	Planted
Cocunut	Few	More	More	More
Waste disposal	In gully	In gully	In gully	Rubbish holes
Pigs	Present	Present	Present	Absent
Hen houses	Absent	Absent	Absent	Pens built
Lavatories	Absent	Absent	A few	General
Floor area	'Very Small'	'Bigger'	'Much bigger again' (200 sq. ft.)	'Big' (375 sq. ft.)

439 communities. When these do occur they are usually between neighbouring
437 communities, as Waddell and Krinks have clearly demonstrated.[9] Intertribal
trade, though small in volume, was politically important in that it provided a
438 motive for terminating, or at least interrupting, warlike disputes. Intertribal trade
[628] was mainly in animal products, betelnut ingredients, feathers, *hambo*, and
certain artifacts which were known to be of high quality in particular districts,
e.g. Binandere pots were exchanged for Yega loincloths; only mountain people
could supply cassowary feathers, and so on. Such exchanges may, under modern
conditions, take the form of gift exchange, barter or sale but it may be doubted
whether barter was ever as clearly institutionalised and differentiated from gift
exchange among the Orokaiva as is the case in many other parts of Melanesia.

433 *Money.* With a few reservations, one could describe the role of money in
436 the modern Orokaiva economy in much the same terms as Salisbury used for the
Siane (1962). Salisbury distinguishes between three nexuses of activity. One is
concerned with the production, distribution and consumption of subsistence
goods, another with luxury goods and a third with ceremonial goods. The three
nexuses involve not only categories of goods but also different types of social
436 groups. Among the Orokaiva as among the Siane, money mainly enters the
luxury and ceremonial nexuses. As with the Siane, the Orokaiva tend to store
454 pound notes in treasure boxes, with *di* and *hambo*, and to keep them for special
purposes which are often ceremonial (payment of brideprice, giving of feasts and
436 church donations), but sometimes utilitarian (payment of taxes). Purchases in
trade stores are mostly for luxury items, i.e. objects which the Orokaiva use only
439 when there are guests to be entertained (tinned meat and fish, sugar, tea,
[262] batteries, cartridges, kerosene and tobacco, for example). Foods like rice, bread
and flour are classifiable as luxuries among the hill people, as here they are used
exclusively as guest foods. It is clear, however, from Waddell and Krinks'
statistics that on the alluvial plains near Popondetta, rice and flour is bought in
far greater quantity in months when taro is in short supply. These products are
thus taking the place of subsidiary crops. People in this area prefer to make
money from cash crops and services and to spend some of their cash on
supplementary staples. The Siane, at the time of Salisbury's research, did not
depend on cash as a source of staple food.

177 The use of money for capital goods merits some attention. Salisbury defines
capital as a stock of goods, present before a productive act is performed, used in
436 production and 'immobilised' from direct consumption while the act is in
439 progress. Tools and implements are classed as 'durable instruments of production.'
Houses and clothing, etc., are called consumer's capital because they
511 'produce' services for their owners while they exist. It is interesting to compare,
in respect of monetary input, everyday consumer goods and the types of capital
just mentioned. While the former have generally remained outside the cash
economy, it is precisely in the sphere of capital goods that the traditional
industries have been largely or wholly replaced by cash-purchased innovations
such as trade, store clothing, agricultural, hunting and cooking implements.
Totally new items – radios, flashlights, wrist watches, pressure lamps, sewing
machines and guitars have been added. Locked suitcases, for the storage of
valuables, are very popular, indicating that safe storage used to be a vexing
problem.

Most of these capital goods enter the village by gift or gift exchange. Some 437
types (e.g. kitchenware and clothes) may pass from one village to another by 438
way of brideprice, but other types of gifts (e.g. radios) are hardly ever made in 439
a ceremonial context, but only to close kinsmen. I am not at all sure whether, in
Salisbury's terminology, the latter type should be classified as a luxury or a
ceremonial item.

One conclusion emerging from the various studies made in the 1960s is that 434
total village income has risen rapidly among the Orokaiva. The sources vary. It 178
may be due to outside employment of persons still ordinarily resident in the
village, to increased cash cropping, to sale of food surpluses or to increased
remittances from local men employed away from the village.

4. *History*

The main object of this section is to provide some background for the study of 121
Orokaiva exchange, especially between tribes and between Orokaiva and
Europeans.

In physical constitution, Williams considered the Orokaiva to be 'midway 144
between the typical Papuan and the typical Melanesian'. Dupeyrat, who has
recently (1965) surveyed the evidence, considers the Orokaiva 'basically of the
Papuan Mountain type', but mixed with Polyno-melanesian elements, latecomers in Papua, who spread to the Northern District via Maisina and Manigela.
It is certainly true that one notices more Polyno-melanesian features along the
coast (e.g. among the Yega) than inland.

In the period just prior to European occupation, the most notable aspect of 174
Orokaiva history that can be reconstructed is pressure from the dense population 167
on the Mount Lamington foothills upon the sparser populations surrounding the
mountain on all sides, but especially to the north and east. These sparser
populations (to whom Williams gives the common name Sauaha) pressed upon
the still sparser populations dwelling in the still less fertile country on their own
northern and eastern borders (see Chinnery and Beaver 1916; Williams 1930:
152–4; Monckton 1921: Ch. XXIV; Crocombe and Hogbin 1963: 14–16).

In 1888, in response to Australian pressure, the British government annexed 175
Papua. The first administrator, Sir William McGregor, made many arduous 648
exploratory expeditions while establishing his rule in this vast unknown
territory. On one of these expeditions he ascended the Mambare river to its 177
highest navigable point, a few miles above Tamata creek, where he discovered
the existence of gold in the sand and shores of the river (Monckton 1921: 78;
Murray 1912: 326–8). This was the first discovery of gold in Papua with
important commercial prospects, and led to a major movement of prospectors
and miners to the Northern District. Relationships with the Papuans were bad
from the beginning, and there were numerous killings by both sides. In 1900 150
miners were working on the Yodda river; the Yodda and Gira goldfields together
produced 15,000 oz. of gold (Murray 1912: 333). In order to stop the
bloodshed, resident magistrates were stationed at Ioma, along the Mambare and
at two places on the Kumusi river, which was for some years the access route to
the Yodda field.

The early relationships between Orokaiva and Australians may be gleaned 175
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175 from the three books of memoirs written by Monckton, who was resident
177 magistrate in the district until his immoderate punitive expeditions led to his being eased out of the service in 1907. His most memorable achievement was the
726 building of a road from Buna through Orokaiva country to Kokoda, near the goldfields. This road, slightly modernised, is still the main line of communication in the Northern District today. By the time it was built (1904), the sanguinary battles between Monckton and the Dobodura and others had taken place, so government patrols were treated with much circumspection. Nonetheless the tribes around Mount Lamington were still 'fighting like Kilkenny cats' (Monckton 1922: 142). Monckton's comments on the road are interesting.

> Yodda Road is tabu to the tribes and is traversed in perfect safety by single white men and their unarmed carriers. Never since I broke the Dobudura and Sangara has there ever been a theft upon it. It is a sanctuary for any and everyone; the wildest tribes only visit it in peace to trade food and goods to passing travellers. They rather like it, as small parties of hostile tribes can move freely about on it in safety with their women and children. (1934:41)

While the road was being built 'no hostilities took place between my working parties and the local inhabitants' (*ibid.* 63). It was thus described not only by Monckton, but also by Lieutenant-Governor Murray who wrote:

> The Wasida and Sangara have been particularly active in forming markets along the road which leads from Buna Bay to the Yodda Goldfield, and in supplying carriers with taro and other food in exchange for articles of trade, such as tobacco and glass bottles, which are much prized for the manufacture of razors. (1912:105)

175 The Protectorate of British New Guinea became Australian territory by the passing of the Papua Act 1905 by the Commonwealth Government of Australia.
648 The new administration adopted a policy of peaceful penetration and the Monckton type of massacres were not repeated. Nonetheless, these early excesses are now forever part of Orokavia history. In the period that followed Papua presented 'in many ways an example of enlightened rule' (Mair 1948: Ch. III). Many measures of social and economic native development were introduced, though these invariably took the form of 'native regulations', for the breach of which a penalty was attached. The principle of coercion was applied over a remarkably wide and ever widening field.

From the days of McGregor, local control was in the hands of 'village constables, paid servants of the Crown. They were intermediaries between government and people, chosen by European officers.' From 1925 onwards, one or more 'village councillors' were appointed alongside the village constable. These were not paid servants of the Crown but were intended 'to be the representatives of native opinion'. In the Northern District I found they had generally been regarded as constables' assistants or subordinates. No indigenous officials had any judicial powers, as Murray felt such powers would lead to corruption.

In the period of Murray's rule (1907–40), the government's basic objective was to turn the Papuan into a keen and efficient indentured plantation worker. In that role, he was assiduously protected by measures which effectively

minimised alienation of Papuan land and controlled recruitment, payment of 648
wages and the employer's treatment of labour. 175

No money was devoted to public education under Murray's rule. Social
improvement programmes were largely confined to village inspections, at which 648
law and order, hygiene and road maintenance were imposed by patrol officers under penalty of prison sentences. Hamlets were consolidated into larger villages, as these were easier to patrol. Villages were ordered, for their own good, to plant commercial tree crops.[10] Education was entrusted to the missions; health services were left either to missions or to employers. In 1919, a head tax was imposed upon the Papuans.

By a gentlemen's agreement between the Protestant denominations, a 797
specified portion of the Territory of Papua was given to the exclusive pastoral care of each of them. North-East Papua, from Cape Dulcie to the German border, became Anglican territory. The centre of the mission was at Dogura, Milne Bay District, where the first Bishop of New Guinea, Montagu Stone-Wigg, established his court in 1898. That year, missionaries were sent to set up stations all along the coast of the diocese, at Cape Vogel, Manigela, Gona and as far north as the Mambare River.

The New Guinea Mission soon set about adding to its staff by building one more 797
advanced school at Dogura, to which it sent the most promising students from
the village schools, in the hope that these could be trained as priests and 871
deacons. The Mission thus offered responsibility to Papuans very much earlier than any other White institution in the Territory. In 1967, the bishop of the Northern District diocese, as well as a number of priests and virtually all mission teachers were Papuans, often drawn from the Northern District tribes.

Experience with miners, government and mission in the Northern District led 795
rather quickly to the emergence of adjustment cults, notably the Baigona and Taro Cults[11] arising respectively in 1912 and 1914. Though Worsley (1957: Ch. III) classifies them as non-millenarian, he recognises them as having been a political threat to the Australian authorities. Doctrines of unity, co-operation and comradeship between formerly hostile tribes were central to the Taro Cult. Cult leaders dissociated themselves from the Christian missions and claimed a special bond with Jesus Christ. Although the Northern District never developed cargo cults of the classical type, even in later years, there is a constant undercurrent of what one may call millennial thinking, which is of great concern to the government even today.

The Second World War. A new era in Papuan history began when the 648
Japanese invaded New Guinea in January 1942 and, in June 1942, landed at 177
Buna, in the Northern District, with the intention of crossing the Owen Stanley Range and taking Port Moresby. They were checked at the Kokoda Trail by Australian and American forces who by January 1943 drove them from the Paupan mainland. According to Lucy Mair the Japanese were not unpopular until they began to plunder gardens and round up pigs, a course to which they resorted when the Allied navy blocked their supply lines (Mair 1948: 199). The Orokaiva mostly took to the bush where they lived in temporary shelters and grew German taro.

Army administration introduced a new tone in human relations. Australian troops, in their dealings with Papuans, applied egalitarian attitudes prevalent in

648 their home country. American troops, by their equal treatment of Negro
177 soldiers, created the impression that racial barriers had no place in their society!
The troops' friendliness to the Papuans was tangibly expressed by gifts, not only
[439] of tobacco and other small luxuries, but also of discarded tools and equipment
still used in villages today. It is in these events that the Orokaiva saw the portent
of the coming of a new era.

731 *The Eruption of Mount Lamington.* In 1951, a Peléan eruption occurred on Mount Lamington. The *nuée ardente* produced by this eruption completely devastated a surrounding area of 68 sq. miles (Taylor 1958). Almost 4,000 people were killed and there were hardly any survivors of the numerous Sangara tribe. Those who did survive were provided with food, medicines and other comforts by the government and were for some time maintained in evacuation camps. The evacuees were not at once allowed to return to their villages as the authorities feared further explosions in the mountain. Some officials saw in this sequence of events a chance to create Papuan model communities with up-to-date socio-economic institutions. These plans for village reform, whatever their merits, were not realised at that time, partly because the danger of further explosions was soon greatly reduced, in the view of vulcanologists, so that the people were allowed to go back to their old village sites; partly also, because the reforms were not favoured by the Australian administration which assumed power after the defeat of the Labour Government in 1951.

648 *Intensification of Development Policy.* Large scale, expertly planned social,
657 economic and political development did not start in Papua until around 1960
(Parker 1966:189). In the economic sphere the first major development success
was the building up of a coffee industry based on the production of indigenous
[464] growers using their own village land. While by far the largest quantity of this
[434] coffee is grown in the Highlands, the yield in the Northern District was enough
to assure to any Orokaiva who entered the scheme an income of something like
$60–100, in the year 1966–67. During that year all the villages I visited, both
on the foothills and in the plains, were producing coffee. It was an activity in
which any able-bodied man resident in a village would normally engage to a
greater or lesser extent. Several factors aided the development of this industry.

[242] Agricultural extension work to train the population of the Northern District in coffee growing began immediately after the eruption. A training school was set up in Popondetta. Papuan agricultural assistants were trained to give basic instruction and to distribute seed. These assistants spread knowledge not only while they were employed by the government, but even more when they went back to their villages and grew their own coffee.

648 Title improvement work is also beginning to contribute to agricultural
657 development. Until 1956, the government kept entirely aloof from indigenous
423 tenure problems and passed no ordinances enabling it to adjudicate in land
disputes. By that time, however, it had become obvious that commercial
arboriculture could be developed only to a limited extent unless a land registry
was introduced and the traditional Orokaiva principle of maintaining residual
rights in land was adandoned. Though the first attempts to change the land
tenure system were unsuccessful, in 1967 it looked as though a very satisfactory
procedure had been worked out. (See Ch. V.)

648 Road improvement was another necessary preliminary to significant village
657
491

Orokaiva Coffee-Grower Society, a producers' co-operative formed for the purpose. 657 245

474 The Council is made up of twenty-six Orokaiva members who are paid a monthly stipend. However, in practice a government adviser attached to the Council appears to determine policy. Indigenous attitudes to the Council are analysed in detail in Schwimmer 1967. Together with the Coffee Society, it has offered the Orokaiva some political participation and the importance of this new departure is vividly recognised by the people.

177 797 *The New Age.* Since the Second World War, a great many ideas from the outside world have been communicated to the Orokaiva. I have already mentioned economic, and some political ideas; in addition, the Anglican mission began to attract many converts, especially after the Mount Lamington disaster. By 1964, the great majority of Orokaiva were baptised.

641 666 The establishment of the House of Assembly in Port Moresby, giving limited powers of political decision to Papuan representatives elected by universal suffrage, has introduced new patterns in village life: meetings with the local member, with other candidates, and with organisers acting for these candidates and presenting political argument. The personnel of the local government council tends to be deeply committed in national politics and to talk about political affairs when visiting villages.

648 During such discussions, the Orokaiva are beginning to learn that an end to Australian rule is conceivable and that they will have some voice in decisions relating to the independence of their own country. They fully recognise that this makes an immediate difference to the balance of power between themselves and

TABLE II/10

EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL EXPERIENCE OF THE JEGASE AND SEHO CLANS OF SIVEPE COMPARED – ADULT MALES ONLY 464 871

Approximate Period	*Education*		*Occupational Experience*	
	Seho	*Jegase*	*Seho*	*Jegase*
Nil	6	6	4	5
1 year	–	1	1	2
2 years	–	2	1	–
3 years	–	1	–	–
4 years	–	2	–	2
5 years	–	–	–	1
6 years	–	1	–	–
7 years			–	–
8 years			–	–
Over 8 years			–	4
Data vague	2	1	2	–
Total	8	14	8	14

TABLE II/11

HOHORITA MALE ADULTS IN SKILLED OCCUPATIONS

463
464
167

Occupation	*Resident*	*Non-Resident*	*Total*
Teacher	9	1	10
'Medical'	3	–	3
Driver	2	2	4
Shopkeeper	4	–	4
Other	2	2	4
Total	20	5	25

648 the Australian rulers, although they also know that so far the difference is not great.

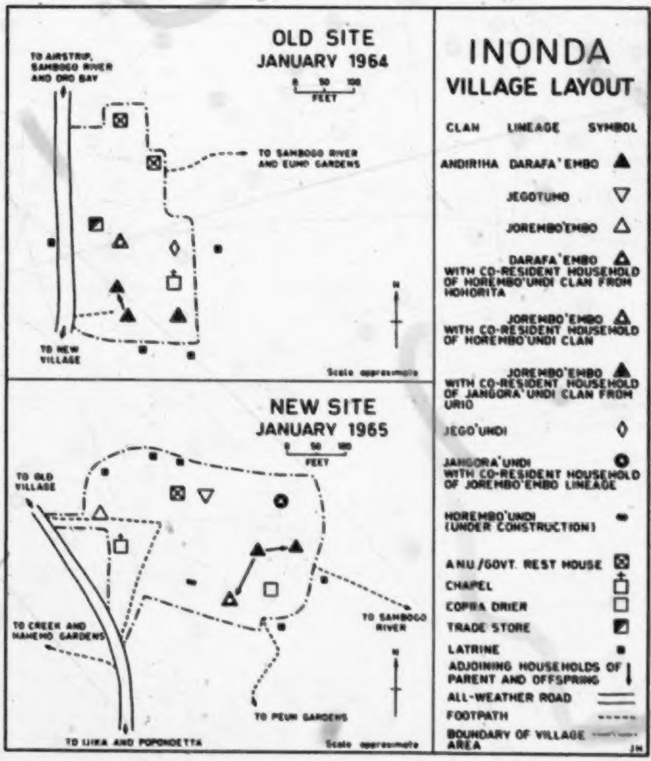
177 Finally, broadcasting services and the messages transmitted by councillors have greatly increased their knowledge of the outside world. Through their transistor radios, they become aware of, and discuss, the affairs of the independent nations of Asia and Africa. They are thus beginning to feel part of the modern world.

5. *Field Locations*

101 I spent one year in the Northern District, travelling through it a good deal. My detailed data come mainly from three villages which I shall now describe briefly.[13]

Inonda. This was the first village I visited; I stayed there for eighteen days, returning later for a few brief periods. The village was previously reported on by
105 Crocombe and Hogbin, Krinks and Waddell. It lies eleven miles from Popondetta, on the road to Oro Bay, has seven dwelling houses and a population of forty-two. At the time of my visit, there was only one politically significant clan represented in the village, namely Andiriha, who had been driven from the foothills of Mount Lamington by the Sangara tribe some fifty years earlier. Inonda, like other Orokaiva villages, was laid out in an elongated rectangle, with the dwellings spaced at equal distances. Neat rows of palms, shrubs and floral borders interspersed with trees subdivided the central area between the houses so as to give each family a semi-private space. The village had an Anglican chapel, made out of a corrugated-iron storage shed, where a lay preacher gave services. There was also a corrugated-iron copra-drying plant, no longer in use. Just behind the village was a slab of concrete laid down by the army during the war, and now being utilised as the floor of a women's club house that was being built at the time.

Unlike the other villages I visited, Inonda is only partly Christianised, four of the households being pagan. Coffee gardens have been established only by the Christian families and the women's club, which is one of a number organised by the government for social development purposes, and is supported exclusively by the same families. Inonda was also unusual, at least in my experience, in having one leading family in control of virtually all forms of community organisation.


OLD SITE
JANUARY 1964
0 50 100
FEET
TO AIRSTRIP, SAMBOGO RIVER AND ORO BAY
TO SAMBOGO RIVER AND EUMP GARDENS
TO NEW VILLAGE
N
Scale approximate
NEW SITE
JANUARY 1965
0 50 100
FEET
TO OLD VILLAGE
TO CREEK AND HAMEMO GARDENS
TO SAMBOGO RIVER
TO PEUM GARDENS
TO IJIKA AND POPONDETTA
N
Scale approximate
INONDA
VILLAGE LAYOUT
CLAN LINEAGE SYMBOL
ANDIRIHA DARAFA'EMBO ▲
JEGOTUMO ▽
JOREMBO'EMBO △
DARAFA'EMBO WITH CO-RESIDENT HOUSEHOLD OF HOREMBO'UNDI CLAN FROM HOHORITA
JOREMBO'EMBO WITH CO-RESIDENT HOUSEHOLD OF HOREMBO'UNDI CLAN
JOREMBO'EMBO WITH CO-RESIDENT HOUSEHOLD OF JANGORA'UNDI CLAN FROM URIO
JEGO'UNDI ◊
JANGORA'UNDI WITH CO-RESIDENT HOUSEHOLD OF JOREMBO'EMBO LINEAGE
HOREMBO'UNDI (UNDER CONSTRUCTION)
ANU/GOVT. REST HOUSE ⊠
CHAPEL
COPRA DRIER □
TRADE STORE
LATRINE ■
ADJOINING HOUSEHOLDS OF PARENT AND OFFSPRING
ALL-WEATHER ROAD
FOOTPATH
BOUNDARY OF VILLAGE AREA
JH

361
614
613
366
364
491
487
102

Fig. 4. Inonda village layout.

The leader, a government driver, earned about 65 per cent of the total cash 105
income of the whole village, not only in wages but also through various 622
enterprises on the side. He was the lay preacher as well. The only limit to his 177
influence was the unwillingness of the pagan faction to become involved in
'modern' activities of which he was the champion.

Ecologically, Inonda is characteristic of the alluvial plains region to the east 133
of the mountain. It lies between 200 and 300 feet above sea level, and has a 132
comparatively low rain-fall and long dry periods. Its population density is low:
42 people on a village domain of 2850 acres (less than 10 per square mile). The 161
best Inonda land is 580 acres of coarse-textured recent riverine deposits, covered 162
with forest or regrowth and lying beside the Sambogo and Girua rivers.

134
137

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

CHAPTER IV

THE EXCHANGE SYSTEM AND THE NEW AGE

1. *Cultural Changes*

177 Many significant changes have occurred in Orokaiva society since European
[241] contact. The introduction of cash cropping has made the Orokaiva, to some
[437] extent, into a peasantry, depending to a limited degree on monetised marketing.
Furthermore, there has been a large amount of labour migration, mostly by male
[167] workers whose families stay behind in villages. Even in the villages, technological
[433] innovations have been influential in raising productivity and improving standards
of living, while sharply reducing the game population. People have become
[657] accustomed to the existence of a specialised political authority, wielded by
Australians but supported and assisted by Papuan functionaries. Inter-village and
[797] inter-tribal warfare has been effectively suppressed. The Orokaiva give at least
nominal allegiance to Christianity, and thus to the principle of obedience to an
omnipotent god.

829 These changes have profound implications for Orokaiva political philosophy.
177 As we have seen, the Orokaiva recognised the importance of Hobbes' question:
how can a man avoid a perpetual war between all and all? The answer, briefly, was
657 that social order can be created by a system of exchange partnerships. But this
was not Hobbes' own answer nor that of the Australians who now rule New
Guinea. If the changes pursued by the colonial government are wholly
successful, it is clear that exchange partnerships, as the basic source of social
order, must become subordinate to legitimate central political authority and the
modern market economy. In other words, there is what Gluckman calls a
'contradiction' (1965: 109) between Australian policy and the exchange-oriented
Orokaiva social philosophy. It is possible, but cannot be predicted, that
this 'contradiction' will eventually lead the Orokaiva to abandon their traditional
exchange ideology. In the meantime, however, it is already clear to the Orokaiva
that their world view is being seriously challenged by white wealth and power.

436 The effect of pressure on the exchange system is evident in many spheres. In
the economic sphere, the Orokaiva still carry on most of their non-monetary
437 transactions by the traditional system, using gift exchange between consan-
431 guines, affines and bond friends. Furthermore, gifts of money are being made
along traditional lines, money being used either as a substitute for *hambo* and
other valuables, or as gifts from urban migrants to country kin. On the other
hand, store-bought goods are, by a general convention, excluded from the full
operation of the exchange system, only a minority being distributed as gifts. The

tendency is to use money income to purchase goods needed for daily life but 436
obtainable in the subsistence sector of the economy (Waddell and Krinks 1968: 437
192). Only a small minority of the goods used by Orokaiva fall into this
category, but if the tendency to exclude most store-bought goods from the gift 431
exchange system continues, we may expect that system gradually to decline in
importance as the monetary sector of the economy increases.

In the political sphere, the traditional system of control is still generally in 621
operation at the village level. Under this system some men may exert great
influence over a community, but they cannot enforce compliance by physical 622
sanctions. While the Orokaiva generally maintain this system, an exception is 657
made for councillors and committee men acting under delegated power from the
government. These men may lay complaints with Australian authority and in
practice do not always disdain to do so. Among the New Zealand Maori, any [171]
leader who so much as threatens to invoke European authority risks being
nicknamed 'Mr. Government' and losing all influence. Not so among the
Orokaiva; the argument is that it is better for such powers to be used by an
Orokaiva official than by the government itself. Nonetheless, use of authority 181
outside the extended family goes against the Orokaiva ethos and undermines the
exchange system in a minor way, because an official, by invoking his *authority*, 177
can obtain something from Alter without becoming indebted to Alter. A [622]
traditional leader, under the same circumstances, might have incurred a debt or
drawn on a kind of credit balance. Here again, the departure from the traditional
exchange system does not greatly intrude in everyday affairs, but is symptomatic
of the type of changes social development would bring. There has thus been a
growing inconsistency between the norms of the traditional exchange system
and the facts of labour migration, cash cropping, adherence to the Christian
Church, attendance at meetings called by councillors, school education, use of
medical services, changes in house architecture, participation in women's clubs,
savings and loan societies, rubber co-operatives and the like. How, if at all, did
Orokaiva thought cope with these basic inconsistencies?

I have explained how traditional institutions are accounted for. When I 773
inquired why it is that mankind wears clothing, makes fires, contracts marriages,
I would be told myths about the *dema* responsible for these institutions. I would
also be told that after the *dema* had shown men how to act in these matters
there had never been any change. There was primordial time during which men
lived, one might say, in the state of nature. In spite of the absence of strife and
death that era was not invariably represented as a happy one. Women were
desolate because they had no men to marry, no fire to cook with, no houses to
live in. In spite of most obstinate and desperate efforts, graphically described in
the myths, mankind failed to get the things it needed. The *dema* thus brought
release from suffering when they introduced cultural goods, techniques and rules
of behaviour. But after the *dema* died, nothing ever changed again.

While such beliefs belie any suggestions that the Orokaiva are without 173
history,[1] it remains true that the Orokaiva repertoire of historical explanations is 773
very small. The actions of the *dema*, the scission of lineages comparable to the
branches of a tree, the settlement of villages by men sleeping under a *barevo*
tree – this completes the set of traditional historical explanations of which I
have knowledge. How could the Orokaiva, confined to this set of concepts, find

When a summons was issued by the village constable, then those magic 173
things were put to work (to save the accused from conviction) . . .
In those days men worked for a while but then stopped shifting the earth. 539
The village constable bound them and they went to court in Kokoda. If the court thought they were lying or if they said 'I don't know,' they were taken away and the governor stopped their work. This is the tale of those men of olden days.

Although the passages quoted here are full of obscurities, the situation in 623
which these speeches were delivered makes them worthy of careful analysis. The 539
councillor, who was born in Torogota, had recently moved to Kongohambo, a
neighbouring village built in modern style. Some families had accompanied him,
but he wanted Torogota village to be abandoned altogether and the whole
population transferred to Kongohambo. In his first speech, he gave reasons with
which he hoped to persuade his people. We are thus given a glimpse of the social
philosophy of his listeners. Although the latter had no intention of leaving [829]
Torogota, they did share the basic sentiments to which the councillor appealed.
They agreed communal ownership of land was no longer quite fashionable, the [178]
village was getting too old, too much land was lying idle, it was bad for labourers
to be unreliable, it was bad to kill wayfarers like dogs. They desired to emulate the
feats of their ancestors and they knew this could no longer be done by raiding
neighbouring villages. This traditional road to renown is no longer open;
obviously, new roads have to be found.

The main burden of the councillor's speech was that his people had not found 623
these new roads to power: *ivo ambupu-ta ahihijera*. (Strong ancestors have 539
reared feeble descendants.) *Ivo* (strength, power) is a basic concept in Orokaiva
thought, and is somewhat similar to the Polynesian concept *mana*. It is the 778
quality that enables man to be successful in 'ways with which ordinary technique cannot cope' (Firth 1967: 191). It is transmitted to a man by his father at the time of conception, and is augmented by the fact of success, and particularly by the killing of an animal or an enemy, the eating of meat, or the making of gifts. Bohuka, the ancestor of the councillor's lineage, and his companions, undoubtedly had *ivo* which was augmented by their conquests, but his descendants who inherited this *ivo* stood to lose it unless they themselves achieved something of commensurate importance. The Orokaiva, unlike the Tikopia, do not think of this magical efficacy as being essentially an attribute of chiefs or leaders, though men of influence do have *ivo* to an exceptional degree. In the terms of the theory developed in the present work, *ivo* is always an object of exchange, received from an exchange partner, often in the form of meat, as will be shown in Chapter VII. The ultimate source of *ivo*, however, are *dema* figures such as Totoima and Pekuma who first gave *ivo* to man.

The councillor's second speech is one of several pieces of evidence that lead 539
me to suggest that the Orokaiva regard Jesus Christ as a *dema* figure and a 776
powerful source of *ivo*. A Papuan pastor was the first to put this idea to me
when we discussed an Orokaiva dance performed at his Church during the 177
Christmas service. The dancers, dressed in traditional garb and beating drums, [535]
filing in a wide circle past the cross erected on the mission station, sang a
traditional chant originally performed after a victim had been killed in a cannibal
raid. The pastor drew my attention to the similarity between the killing of such

539 a victim and Christ's Passion. He also pointed out that by performing this chant,
776 the dancers were sacrificing their bodies to Christ. There was no harm in this
177 performance, he said, because the sentiments in both forms of religion were the same.

[535] Councillor Ase added a more earthy dimension to the pastor's words when he declared that it was Jesus Christ who had given the Papuans the benefit of wage labour. This sentiment might have appealed to Governor Murray. It completes the image of Jesus as *dema*. First, Jesus was killed and gave His body to mankind, or to His followers, by being crucified. His body is still being consumed at Communion services, the deep sacredness of which the Papuans recognise. He also left behind him immense *gifts*: the technology (cargo) of the white man, and money with which men may acquire this cargo. Wage labour is one of the means now open to the Papuans for acquiring at least a little of this money and cargo. Thirdly, like all *dema*, he left behind a set of rules which men have to follow if they are to obtain full access to the particular kind of *ivo* he bequeathed upon mankind.

182 It now becomes a little clearer how the Orokaiva have found a rationale,
771 satisfying to themselves, for the behaviour patterns they are adopting in response to the impact of white power. The coming of the white man is viewed as an
776 event of the same magnitude as the addition of a new *dema* to the pantheon. The most crucial fact about this new *dema* is that it was through his help that
177 the white man obtained extraordinary wealth and power. It was hinted to me from time to time that the white man should have been far more generous in sharing this wealth and power with the Papuans. At the same time, however, it was emphasised that the Orokaiva had already received some substantial benefits, for example the introduction of money, wage labour and cash
[623] cropping. My informant the councillor, whose contact with white authority had
[115] been somewhat closer than was usual in the district, claimed special knowledge about how European-type power might be obtained. It was on the basis of this knowledge that he felt entitled to advise his people to shift to another village. But his audience did not really believe he knew anything.

While the councillor's competence was doubted, his basic ideas were generally accepted: Orokaiva progress was thought to depend on the following of prescriptions originating from the *dema* Jesus Christ. The white man had revealed only part of these prescriptions. (In this respect Orokaiva beliefs resembled those reported by Burridge 1960, 1969.) It was thought, moreover, that these rules prescribed ritual acts performed for the first time by Jesus Christ and now imitated by those who are fully initiated in His mysteries. While these Orokaiva beliefs may impede their understanding of the workings of white society, they do provide a rationale for those white behaviour patterns which Orokaiva are able to observe. They also provide a charter for the changes Orokaiva are actually adopting in their exchange system and elsewhere.

177 One experience at Hohorita made me aware how closely the introduction of
773 Western culture is identified with the action of traditional *dema*. Due to the death of most of the older men of the Sangara tribe at the time of the eruption,
[731] their descendants grew up at Hohorita without much knowledge of myths and traditions. Nonetheless, when I visited the village, a number of men spent several nights with me telling me what they knew. Their information would mostly be

dismissed by a seeker of ancient lore, but contained some myths of obviously 177
recent vintage which helped me to understand contemporary Orokaiva thought. 773
I was told that before the Europeans came, the Orokaiva used to make only very
small gardens. They were in constant danger of starvation and depended greatly
on wild fruit. I copied the names of these, but was told that many of them were
never eaten nowadays. (Many are inedible.) In those days, people did not
make feasts as they did not grow enough food. The large gardens people have at [412]
the present time were introduced only when the Europeans brought steel axes
and knives.

In other villages I was told similar stories about a primordial state of
wretchedness when people cultivated no taro but ate wild fruit now considered
inedible. But this period ended when the *dema* introduced the elements of
traditional Orokaiva culture. In Hohorita, culture history had become
foreshortened. Other Orokaiva distinguished the traditional *dema* stories which
occurred in the dim past from the stories concerning the arrival of the
Europeans; they recognised in fact *two* periods of fundamental change: one
ancient and complete, the other recent and incomplete. In Hohorita tradition,
these two periods have to some extent become fused. The premature death of
men born between, say, 1890 and 1910 deprived the men of today of any
factual knowledge of the coming of the European: it has already been turned into
myth and placed, so to speak, *in illo tempore*. But this unusual development
only emphasises how closely the gifts of European culture are identified with
those of traditional *dema*.

The chairman of the Higaturu Local Government Council, who also happened 623
to live at Hohorita, had long conversations with me about the constitution and 657
activities of the council. On one occasion I wished to discover to what extent the
council had been set up in response to popular aspirations and to what extent 177
the councillors (as opposed to the Australian adviser) made decisions on basic [115]
policy. Answer: because the government had a council at Rabaul, it decided to
have one in the Northern District as well. Did the people want the council? They
had been given schools; they had been given coffee to market. They therefore
thought the council would also be good. Would it not be better for the people to
decide for themselves how their problems should be solved instead of leaving all
decision-making to the government? The council did not come from ourselves
but from the administration. We do not know about the council. It belongs to
the administration and it was given to the village people.

The Department of District Administration had recommended this informant
to me as being the most knowledgeable in the district on the subject of the
council. I found his knowledge of the facts to be most accurate, and at council
meetings he was the only man who dared to argue with the advisory officer. But [829]
when I questioned him on the level of social philosophy, he fell back on the
standard Orokaiva explanation: power and strength come to us not from things
we have invented or made ourselves, but from things that have been given to us
by our exchange partners. This is precisely what Councillor Ase said: if the
Orokaiva of today desires to have an *ivo* equal to that of his ancestors, he has to
follow the instructions of the council, i.e. to build a new village, grow coffee,
individualise land titles. This, at the present time, is his best available source of
power and strength. In other words, it is not a matter of villagers independently

623 working out a development policy, but rather of obeying a sacred formula that
657 came to the Australian authorities from a *dema*-like source and was then passed
● 177 on as a gift to the Orokaiva.

Are all these gifts derived ultimately, in Orokaiva estimation, from Jesus
829 Christ, or are there other *dema* figures as well to whom these gifts are ascribed?
[123] Who would they be? This is a hard subject for a white anthropologist to inquire into. Informants answer: 'We do not know. Nobody has told us.' The anthropologist feels uneasily that if anyone knows the source of Western wealth and power, it ought to be himself rather than his informants.

3. *New Exchange Cycles*

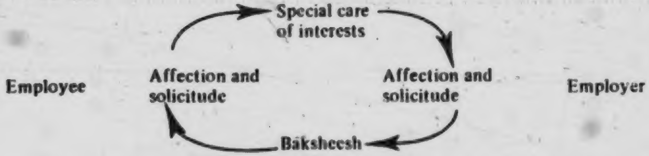
121 The image of post-contact history reconstructed here from statements by Orokaiva informants seems unduly dreamlike and idealised. This is because they are statements about the metaphysical starting mechanisms making social relations possible. Turning to the relationships themselves, I find that they are often marred by a severe conflict of interests and values. For the purpose of a brief overview, we shall consider relationships with representatives of three types of European-introduced institutions: church, commerce, and government. Following our theoretical scheme, we shall be especially interested in the objects that are exchanged in these relationships and in the mediating elements that make possible social exchange.

An employer of Papuan labour is interested chiefly in obtaining the
461 compliance of his workers by the payment of money. Usually he is not at all
466 interested in social exchange, but in a contract whereby he acquires the total
829 work output of the worker for the period he is on the job. The Orokaiva,
however, regards all the work he does as part of a social relationship with the
437 person for whom he works. First of all, he expects that person to feed him while
he is working. This is because he has been prevented by the person he is helping
177 from going to his own garden. The employer in New Guinea usually does feed his workers, subtracting the cost of the food from the wages he pays. But secondly, the Orokaiva, lacking a long tradition of wage labour, regards his work as a long series of gifts to his employer enabling him to claim return gifts. He does not think of his wages as being a total discharge of his employer's obligations. They were promised at the beginning, but since then many unpredictable things have happened: he has loyally looked after his employer's interests in a series of small crises; he finds he has additional urgent needs he did not envisage when he agreed to come to the job; he believes his labour has yielded his employer vast profits. As the Orokaiva understand a social partnership, events of this kind all create a claim upon the person who has received help. Thus, the worker keeps on pressing his employer most persuasively for extra gifts of various sorts, in addition to his wages. This pattern is found throughout New Guinea and is known as the *baksheesh* system. Employers often give in to the demands, hand out various extras, and allow for these costs in plantation budgets.[3]

466 The basic significance of the *baksheesh* has already been pointed out by
437 Mauss (1966: 250–5, 229–32); '*La chose ainsi transmise est, en effet, chargée de*
177 *l'individualité du donateur.*' It rests on a notion that both worker and

employer give something in excess of their contractual obligation. These services 466
and gifts over and above the formal contract are a form of social exchange. Both 437
parties seem to be expressing affection and solicitude for the other. The worker
does this by special care for his employer's interests; the employer does it by 177
'baksheesh'. The latter are never just extra handouts or cast-offs, though these
may also be given. They are usually responses to appeals by the worker who
describes an emergency that has arisen for which he requires some object of
usually quite limited value: old batteries, a little kerosene, etc. It is the
employer's solicitude in response to a claim which gives these objects their
special value (though, of course, they have some monetary value as well). This
social exchange can be expressed in the following diagram:

MODEL 6



This model represents the ideal norm of the relationship, as seen by the Orokaiva. He is well aware that the reality often falls far short of the ideal norm: not all employers show affection and solicitude. It is, however, a more serious flaw of the model that the white employer would totally reject it; his ideal norm of the employer-employee relationship is a very different one that does not involve social exchange (or baksheesh) at all. There is, in fact, a conflict of ideal norms between employer and employee. The actual arrangements on the plantations, which I have briefly sketched, are a sort of compromise or accommodation between the two conflicting concepts of employment: the employee accepts the fact that baksheesh is usually rather unwillingly and rudely handed over, as being a regrettable white man's custom; and the employer somehow makes room for a minimum of baksheesh on his balance sheet.

The fact that the conflict of values remains unresolved in this relationship 177
does not vitally threaten plantation development, but similar conflicts are not so
easily sidestepped in the Orokaiva's relationship with government and the
mission. Neither community development nor religious conversion will be
successful without some ideological commitment on the part of the receivers of
the message. Obvious though this statement is, it is worth while to spell out its
implications here, as it applies to the implementation of government policy.

Policy is formulated in Port Moresby and promulgated by the Administrator 657
in the form of ordinances and regulations. Instructions on the enforcement of 177
these are prepared by the Department of District Administration in Port
Moresby and interpreted, in the light of local conditions, by the Department's
officers in Popondetta, the administrative centre of the Northern District. But
how can these ordinances and regulations be enforced in the jungle by a very
limited number of patrol officers? Until 1956, a rather simple procedure was
used. The patrol officers appointed a large number of suitable Orokaiva as village [625]

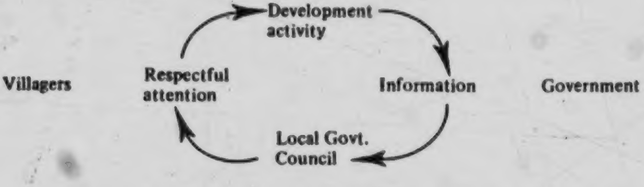
657 constables, instructed them to report any trouble, visited the villages, looked for
177 evidence of non-compliance with instructions, punished delinquents, left further
instructions with the village constable and threatened further punishment. The
625 trouble with this procedure was that the changes it could produce were of rather limited scope. All the Orokaiva needed to do to keep the patrol officer satisfied was to attend to things that could be seen on a visit (the state of the roads, houses, latrines, the grass in the villages, the quota of obligatory rubber trees, etc.) and to avoid the kind of trouble the village constable could not help reporting (murders, serious dissensions).

657 Social and economic development, however, depends on the communication
177 of ideas, on encouraging regular schooling, use of medical facilities, cash-
cropping, the development of markets, participation in local government,
623 preparing the young for careers outside the district, encouraging capital formation and entrepreneurship, improvement of agricultural techniques, land titles, and so on. In the 1950s, when the government became deeply interested in these objectives, it created local government councils, abolished village constables, and rather forcefully changed its emphasis from the enforcement of compliance to the inducement of collaboration. Some of the Australian officers told me they found this shift rather frightening: if there was no jail for non-compliance, how could one be sure that the Orokaiva would take any notice? On the other hand, Orokaiva conservatives found the shift in policy frightening for the opposite reason: as they told me, the village constables left Orokaiva social life virtually intact, except that occasionally someone would be sent to jail for a while – a mere ripple on the surface of community affairs. But since the government councils were established, and the councillors came round regularly making long speeches, and since the new institutions listed above had actually been demonstrated to be useful, the foundations of the old way of life were beginning to be undermined.

With the help of the councillors, the government's ideas were certainly being communicated, but hardly ever by the government's own officers.[4] The only white officers who regularly visit villagers are young, inexperienced patrol officers, dependent on interpreters. Speech-making is only a minor part of their role and not the most successful. All the councillors I have heard, however, are master propagandists. As the government's aim is clearly the communication of ideas, it would be hard to find a more efficient method than the present one, where the government communicates to the councillors and leaves the latter to do the rest.

An interesting and somewhat unusual exchange cycle results from these transactions. The exchange partners are the government and groups of Orokaiva villagers. The objects of exchange are information (emanating from the government) and respectful attention (on the part of the villagers). I use this term 'respectful attention' as the nearest translation of Orokaiva *ingari* which means 'to hear', 'to understand', 'to follow advice' – and comes closer than any other word in the Orokaiva vocabulary to the notion of obedience and compliance. The exchange cycle may be expressed in the following diagram:

MODEL 7 657
177
623



The elements of mediation are entirely indispensable in this relationship. Unless there is development activity, the government will feel that the relationship has broken down. Unless the councillors intervene, the government's information cannot be communicated.

Both the villagers and the government find this exchange cycle highly 657
precarious. It is precarious for the villagers because social exchange, for the 177
Orokaiva, implies a state of competition between the partners. It is unprofitable to engage in social exchange with a partner unless one can hope to equal him (and even better him) in wealth and power. This desire to equal (and defeat) the Europeans competitively is an ambition of which informants spoke to me occasionally when I came to know them well. It was quite clear to the Orokaiva that they could never achieve this objective by growing coffee on small village plots. Hence, they could not regard the activity advocated by the government as being worth engaging in for its own sake. The question facing them was: will this activity serve our ultimate end of achieving equivalence or victory? The term 'development activity', as used in model 7 implies that it is thought to serve this ultimate end.

I demonstrated in the previous chapter that all elements of mediation are 657
essentially magical. The Orokaiva similarly regard development activity as 177
magical. In response to this notion, government officers sometimes evolve rules
of behaviour that look remarkably like magical formulae. One officer in the 241
Northern District invented a regular weekly calendar which he thought the Orokaiva 789
should follow. Certain days of the week should be set aside for coffee growing, others for growing and marketing extra garden crops, others for cleaning and improving the village, and so on. I heard the officer proclaim this calendar; later, I heard a councillor proclaim it in Sivepe village. It was listened to with respectful attention, but afterwards ridiculed by the village men. The formula was rejected because it was thought to be useless. There was, of course, a plethora of such formulae circulating as many officers thought up their own, and most officers were rapidly transferred from one job to another. It was natural, therefore, for the Orokaiva to become selective in the formulae they adopted. Also, experience showed them that the formulae did not always work.

The difference between this modern magic and the traditional varieties lies in 177
the greater uncertainty of the prescription. The Orokaiva habitually use an
experimental approach to magic: if one medicine does not work, then try 657
another. But all traditional medicine has at least an impeccable source: it was 789
given by the ancestors. The magic of 'development' (money, Western technology, Western power) was, in Orokaiva belief, ultimately derived from Jesus

177 657 [789] Christ and perhaps other supreme sources of which they have no knowledge, but these ultimate sources mostly seem inaccessible to the Orokaiva; the people know their information to be poor and unreliable. Nonetheless, as the councillor from Hohorita remarked, it has been found by experience that the gifts deriving from the government have often been good ones. The relationship is therefore worth maintaining as it may produce further valuable gifts in the future. (This widely held opinion, incidentally, is the bane of Papuan progressives, who are pressing for immediate independence of the Territory from Australian rule).

Although, in an attempt to make my meaning clear, I have spoken of the magic of 'development', it is important to point out that the term 'development' has not been borrowed, to my knowledge, in Orokaiva speech. The Orokaiva term is *iji eha* (the new day), a phrase occurring, for instance, in the passage quoted from Councillor Ase's address. The *iji eha* has come about, as we have seen, as the result of the gifts of a new *dema*, Jesus Christ. One of these gifts was a permanent peace, to replace the permanent state of *isoro* of earlier days. But this gift was accompanied by new commandments. Councillor Ase emphasised the casual connection between the gift and the commandments: 'As a new day has now arrived (*oroho evi iji eha avo eto*,), I tell you to be united.' Like *isoro*, so the *iji eha* requires unity, but for the sake of struggles of a different kind: the building of a new village, the growing of coffee and rubber, the support of school education. The commandments of the *iji eha* are in effect community development.

177 657 797 It may thus be said without hyperbole that community development among the Orokaiva has a mythological charter – namely, the Christian religion as the Orokaiva understand it. It acts as a mediating element between the Orokaiva and the European power-bearers: it is the magic whereby a relation of social exchange may be established between the former and the latter and whereby the Orokaiva may eventually become the equals of the white man in wealth and power.

177 657 623 But the second mediating element in this relationship is the councillors, through whom the government's information must pass to reach the people. They do not play the role of leaders but of mediators in a rather limited sense. In their contact with the government (mainly confined to contact with the advisory officer to the council), they receive information and hear council decisions in the formulation of which they generally have no part. The flow of information tends to be from the government to the councillors rather than in the reverse direction. This one-sidedness suits both parties, but especially the councillors, who gain little but may lose much by adding to the government's knowledge. At the village level, the councillor tends to become the chief mouthpiece of the *iji eha*. He is expected to report faithfully, and in detail, what he has heard from the government. His advice will be asked on matters related to council activities, but most of the time it is the councillor himself who takes the initiative and harangues the villagers. He does not expect all his advice to be accepted; he may even have private doubts about some of what he is
[191] transmitting. A Sivepe ex-councillor even had the habit of reporting on all council matters in Motu, a *lingua franca* used at council meetings because the advisory officer does not know Orokaiva. Most Sivepe people understand some
[554] Motu. By speaking in Motu to his fellow-villagers, the councillor built up his own

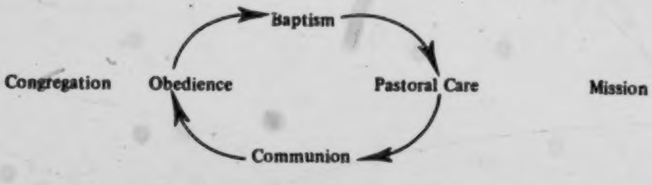
status while at the same time establishing some distance between his official 177
performance and his private self. Even when a councillor does not resort to so 657
extreme a device, his role is a highly formalised one, as the values underlying his 623
message are very strange to him. The *iji eha*, as communicated at the council
meeting, is almost outside his mental grasp. He has heard the details but cannot [191]
see the pattern. (The council meetings are not suited to the communication of [554]
the complex patterns of Western civilisation.) Fortunately his audience is usually warm and sympathetic to his message and shares with him the mood, the 'feeling' of the *iji eha*, if little else.

4. *The New Day, the Mission and Divine Retribution*

Relationships with the mission in the Northern District have usually been of two 797
main types. When a mission station was first established, exchange relations 177
between Orokaiva and the station began immediately. The mission offered schooling, medical services and largesse of various sorts. The Orokaiva offered land and labour. These were direct exchanges requiring no mediating elements. The mission was usually in no great hurry to begin baptising converts, preferring to let interested persons rise gradually from the status of hearer to catechist and conferring baptism some years later. Although coastal stations were established around the turn of the century, it was only after the Second World War, when a considerable number of stations and outstations were established inland, that the majority of Orokaiva came within reach of mission influence. The Sasembata station[5] serving Sivepe was not opened until 1945 and had no baptisms until 1953. The bulk of the population of that village was converted between 1953 and 1964.

It was then that the second, and more complex, phase of the relationship started. In the first phase there had been a great deal of contact between people and mission station, especially because of the educational services that were offered, but it was only in the second phase that these contacts became religiously significant. We may express the emerging relationship in the following diagram:

MODEL 8



Although this exchange cycle seems, on the surface, to represent more or less the relationship between any Christian and his Church, it seems arbitrary to select from the complex set of mediating elements enriching the fullness of such a relationship as commonly understood just these two sacraments, important as they are. It is only in the light of the Orokaiva understanding of the Church that

177 these two sacraments became pivotal, while the rest of Church life, however
797 deeply experienced, seems to be a supplementary benefit. I am speaking, be it understood, of a group of rather recent converts.

553 When I asked informants why they had joined the Church I was given one invariable answer: 'to receive a new name.' The meaning of this is clear and
551 unequivocal, and follows from information already published by Williams
797 (1930: 97, 175–7). An Orokaiva, under the traditional system, might have three types of name: (1) a 'name proper' (*javo be*) taken from a stock of names used by his father's or mother's patrilineage and conferred at birth; (2) one or more nicknames (*javo isapa*) which may be acquired at any age; (3) assumption by the slayer of the name of the slain. Williams reported that there was also a common habit of bestowing the victim's name upon the child of the slayer. The name of the slain is adopted as a distinction, and as a means of acquiring the latter's *ivo*. Baptismal names fall within this third category, for what the Orokaiva regards as obvious reasons.

First of all, baptismal names are never Orokaiva names, but are chosen from a large stock known to servants of the Church. Some are recondite names (Cephas, Stanislaus, Gemima), other are a combination of the Christian and surnames of missionaries (Dick Stafford, Nancy White). All these names, used by the mission for baptismal purposes, are reasonably regarded as names belonging to Jesus Christ. Now, Christ was slain by His enemies. After His death, those who adopted one of His names were saved and obtained great wealth and power.
[778] White men are powerful because they obtained the *ivo* of this slain Man. The mission gave Orokaiva the opportunity to acquire one of these names too, if they obeyed its rules. Thus a baptismal name fulfils the same function as was fulfilled by the adoption of the name of the slain. *Ivo* can now be obtained without the need to kill a human victim; in fact, it has now become not only useless but evil to kill people in order to assume their names. The baptismal name has taken their place.

An important parallel between the two kinds of name is that a person cannot confer either upon himself. This can be done only after a person has gone through rituals of purification by a man of great purity and renown. The eating of the body of the slain can confer *ivo* only if this communion food is a gift from some other person; similarly, bread and wine are spiritually potent only if given by a priest in a proper ritual. I have already pointed out the similarity perceived by Orokaiva between communion and the traditional rite of eating slain victims. Communion may be called the culminating ritual of the *iji eha* when Jesus Christ fully becomes the celebrant's spiritual ancestor, much in the manner of Totoima, and with similar potent effects.

797 This sketch is not at all intended as a criticism of the mission. On the contrary, time probably has to pass before the Orokaiva can move from their
177 present identification with the Church to the internalisation of its values. And it has been argued (e.g. Kelman 1962) that identification is often a necessary preliminary of change. Even the degree of change described here has been by no means easy to achieve. The ideology of the *iji eha* which underlies the present acceptance of socio-economic programmes as well as of Christianity, was long
[829] resisted by Orokaiva, even after the Second World War. A premise of this acceptance has been a growing opinion that the Western world order was indeed

so formidable and irresistible as to leave open no other option. For many 797
Orokaiva, this became a certainty only as a result of what to us would seem an 177
entirely unconnected event, namely the Mount Lamington eruption of 1951. 829
The effect of this eruption on Orokaiva ideology is worth a brief analysis here
because it provides evidence that the 'new day' ideology is still essentially based
on the traditional exchange-oriented Orokaiva philosophy. We find that the 823
cataclysm was universally ascribed by the Orokaiva to the breakdown in an [731]
exchange relationship with some *dema*, and that many believed this *dema* to
have been the Christian God. On the basis of this theory, the Orokaiva were led
to search for more effective mediating links between themselves and these
powers, so as to avoid similar misfortunes in the future. Development activity
and baptism were the most important of the mediating elements in which they
placed their faith.

As I have already published a full survey of Orokaiva explanations of the
eruption (Schwimmer 1969), my summary here will be brief. In 1966, during visits [101]
to Inonda, Hohorita and Sivepe, I interviewed a number of survivors about
the explanation of the disaster given by people *at the time it occurred*. All 823
informants were agreed that at that time the increasing rumbling in the 784
mountain, the tremors, the smoke issuing from the crater, the showers of ash,
the emission of stones and fiery particles, and finally the Peléan eruption, were [776]
all ascribed to the anger[6] of Sumbiripa, the god of the mountain, though there
were varying explanations of the probable cause of that anger. These statements
tallied with published evidence from two clergymen, both present in the
Northern District at the time of the eruption, who refer to the people's fear of
the anger of Sumbiripa (Tomlin 1951, Benson 1955).

Evidence of a different kind comes from two anthropologists (Belshaw 1951, Keesing 1953) both of whom interviewed survivors a few weeks after the disaster. Belshaw summarises Orokaiva explanations as follows:

> Some people said that this was God's visitation because they had disobeyed the Bishop's instructions to build new churches. Others said that God had punished them because they had not helped the Allies sufficiently during the war and because some of them had betrayed missionaries to the Japanese. (Others again mentioned) lack of co-operation in Mission and Government plans for development. (1951: 242)

Keesing agrees with this summary, adding that the eruption resulted in 'strong feelings of insecurity and even of guilt in their retrospective look at the pre-eruption way of life'.

Many resident Europeans, including the Bishop of New Guinea, the Most Rev. David Hand, confirmed Belshaw's and Keesing's account, but the Bishop told me that the mission has since discouraged the Orokaiva from thinking that the Christian God harboured anger against them and expressed it with such indiscriminate violence.[7] Hence this explanation is no longer heard. People nowadays believe that the eruption was caused by the anger of Sumbiripa or, if they wish to display a modern scientific attitude, they will repeat what they have been told about vulcanology.

Explanations based on the anger of Sumbiripa, the government and the [775]
Christian God resemble each other in that they are all based on the concept of a

relationship. They could conceivably have chosen a different explanation which 823
would have provided a charter for the reinforcement of quite different 797
relationships. If the eruption had not happened at all, the Orokaiva would most
probably have taken the same direction, but the charter validating development
and baptism would have been weaker for some time. It may be that the
exchange ideology would have weakened before development started. The
eruption, however, seems to provide Church and government with a most
formidable arsenal of negative sanctions in case the relationship is ever broken
through the fault of the Orokaiva. We may conclude that the Orokaiva, by their [182]
belief in a new kind of divine intervention (through the *dema* figure Jesus [771]
Christ), have been encouraged to make new types of economic, social and
religious exchanges, while maintaining their assumption of an exchange-oriented [181]
universe, and that their philosophy has provided them, at least for a time, with a
workable rationale for the contemporary world.

REFERENCES

1. The traditional time concepts of the Orokaiva are probably mainly 773
restricted to what Evans-Pritchard (1939) called 'oecological' and 'structural'
time. It is, however, very likely that they also had 'an historical perspective of 805
their own, whatever its depth may be' – rather similar to the one described by M.
Panoff for the Maenge (1968). Such a perspective would include not only the
dema but also the scission of lineages and the settlement of villages. An Orokaiva
described lineage fission to me by drawing a tree on the ground – using precisely
the same symbolism as Panoff's Maenge informants. Orokaiva stories of the
settlement of villages also abound, usually giving the name of the tree by which
the settlers 'sat down' when they arrived.

Pocock (1964) has argued that as culture change becomes more rapid under [771]
the impact of European contact, traditional time concepts undergo structural
transformation to make them more nearly explanatory of the actual course of [776]
events. I believe that the identification of Jesus Christ with a *dema*, as argued in
this chapter, is an example of such structural transformation.

2. For the location of Torogota, see Fig. 10. 000

3. Information on this point was derived from several local planters, including Mr. C. E. Searle of Awala. See also Howlett 1965.

4. Details on communication channels between government and people are given in Schwimmer 1967, 1969.

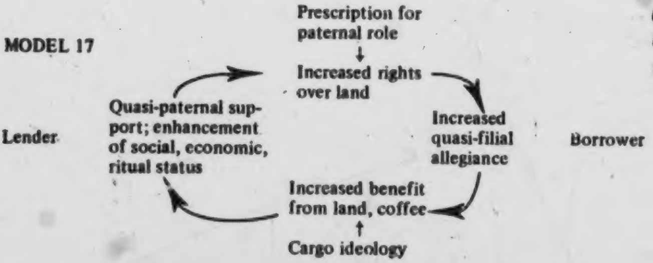
5. The Sasembata mission station is not in Sasembata village but just north of Kongohambo. See Fig. 10.

6. Reay has reported that 'the natives had no knowledge, or legend, of an earlier eruption' (*apud* Taylor, 1958: 21). My own study (Schwimmer 1969) suggests that this view, while not strictly incorrect, needs to be modified. My sources are tape-recorded myths and Miss Nancy White's manuscripts (White, n.d.).

7. Interview with Bishop Hand, January 1967.

[p.82 is blank]

MODEL 17 423 422 425


Prescription for paternal role
Increased rights over land
Increased quasi-filial allegiance
Borrower
Increased benefit from land, coffee
Cargo ideology
Quasi-paternal support; enhancement of social, economic, ritual status
Lender

The argument of the Tandai'undi and other owners of coffee-producing land is that the production of coffee gives the occupiers increased rights over land so that they owe an increased quasi-filial allegiance which must be expressed in increased prestations. These may take the form of substantial gifts, a share of the crop, etc. The benefit the owners seek to obtain from the land is nearly always money.

It may seem far-fetched that my model shows 'cargo ideology' as the 177
'mythological charter' for this desire for money. It may even be argued that the 436
desire for money requires no ideological explanation. Without entering upon this
larger question, I would directly relate the significance given to money in 776
Orokaiva ideology to what has been said in the previous chapter about Jesus 782
Christ as a *dema* figure. It is He who is credited with the introduction of money into the world and this is regarded as perhaps His greatest blessing. Hence the pursuit of money is not despised by Orokaiva nor even viewed as morally neutral: to acquire money is to give evidence of having followed the precepts of the *dema*. If the mysteries of the *dema* were more fully revealed to the Orokaiva, they believe they would acquire a great deal more money.[4]

I would argue that the Orokaiva regard the coffee industry as a premonition of 245
greater wealth and power that may later come as the result of the return of the 437
ancestors. Until the coffee industry started, Orokaiva could earn money only by 435
leaving their villages to work for white men. Suddenly it became possible to
obtain equivalent amounts from the products of village soil. What stirred the 436
imagination was that a man could go to his garden, pick the coffee and then, 177
after a not too demanding ritual of processing, pour it into a bag and obtain money for it. This was not classified as work but as a kind of magic. *Work* (the Pidgin English word) referred exclusively to paid labour done for an employer. *Pure* referred more specifically to the traditional gardens. *Kapi* (coffee) was what one might compare to a 'money tree': it was the source of the benefits which enabled a village family to share in the 'new day'.

From the cases I observed at Mumuni and Sivepe I gathered that some modest 423
proportion of the proceeds of the coffee garden (like a tithe) would not satisfy 425
the owners of the land upon which coffee was grown by useholders. They 422
seemed to want all, or nearly all, the cash that could be gathered from the bushes. It was because their claims were immoderate that I began to think of the influence of cargo ideology.

611 men showed loyalty to their affines rather than their clansmen. He also noted a
614 widespread tendency for individuals to identify with the maternal rather than the
paternal clan. Evidence on land tenure, presented by Crocombe, Hogbin and
[429] Rimboldi, provides an impressive list of exceptions to the supposed rule of
patrilineal inheritance and points, in addition, to the feebleness of links between
the local groups making up a dispersed clan.

614 At the time of Williams' study, most Orokaiva villages were composed of a
single clan and comprised little more than six households. The Australian
621 authorities used a good deal of pressure to make the Orokaiva consolidate their
361 hamlets into larger villages which could be more easily patrolled, but by 1951
Belshaw reported that most Orokaiva still lived in hamlets. In 1966 I found a
177 good number of one-clan villages, with populations of around fifty, but the
majority of the people were concentrated in larger settlements in which at least
two local clan groups were residing together.

The local clan group was traditionally the smallest viable military unit, whose duty it was to defend the hamlet territory against outsiders. It had its own military leader, feasting leader, technical and magical experts. In the modern multi-clan village, the corporate scope of the local clan group has declined, as its functions have been taken over by the village. Village feasts, village boundaries, village leadership tend to take the place of the earlier local clan group institutions. Due to these changes, the unity of the local clan group has become more difficult to establish and maintain.

614 Crocombe, Hogbin and Rimoldi have provided full data showing that local
clan groups are often divided into a number of exclusive segments they call
613 'lineages', which are characterised by putative common patrilineal descent from
an ancestor who could often not be named. It is certainly true that we find important units intermediate between the extended family and the local clan group. First, it is possible to list four names of such major units within the Jegase local clan group and the same number within Seho. But the term 'lineage' might be deceptive unless we define it more closely.

614 If we look at the clan segments in Sivepe (it will soon be clear why I prefer
not to call them 'lineages'), their real distinctive feature is that they either came
613 to Sivepe as migrants from the same village or as members of the same clan.
166 There is no evidence whatever that, in their village of origin, they would
necessarily have been regarded as close kin. Their feeling of being closely related arose only subsequent to migration. The study of Orokaiva migrant groups, even comprising just a few families, easily reveals that they tend to consist of one core family to which others will rally, not because they are related by kinship but because they want to leave, are good friends of the migrating family and, most probably, have some kin or friendship links in the village where the group intends to settle. It is only after arrival there that they may, for ideological and political reasons, create the fiction of being close patrikin. A number of such groups fuse with earlier arrivals into larger units bearing a clan name adopted by all. Hence, for most purposes these smaller units are best described as 'clan segments', though it may be useful to refer to them as lineages when discussing informants' statements concerning the patrilineal ideology by which such groupings are held together.

583 Forms of dual organisation between pairs of reciprocating groups have always
been of limited scope as the groups tended to reside apart from each other, and
528 each group tended to have marriage exchange relations with several other groups
616 at the same time. Even the short genealogies of Sivepe show evidence that the
families of this village have been participating in no less than twenty-five
reciprocating pairs of groups, the exchange sometimes consisting of no more
[177] than one recorded exchange of women between two villages. Interestingly
[361] enough, it was Australian pressure towards village consolidation that emphasised
the tendency to dual organisation.

First of all, co-residence tends to increase the number of marriages between
361 local clan groups which are thus thrown together. Usually, such local clan groups
178 are already reciprocating pairs, but when co-residence is established, they begin
to reciprocate at a greater rate. For instance, the Seho and Jegase local clan
614 groups in Sivepe, comprising together sixteen households, are linked by seven
583 current Seho-Jegase marriages. This was sufficient to define the seven Seho
households and the nine Jegase households as standing in an affinal relation to
one another.

614 In such a village the other households tend to be classified as adhering to one
of the two dominant local clan groups. A few years before I came to Sivepe,
621 Rimoldi and Waddel had both visited the village and recorded the presence of a
166 third local clan group, called Timumu. On my arrival I found that this group,
616 consisting of three households, had adopted the Jegase clan name, thus
establishing a tidy dualist pattern between one group defined as agnates and a
second group defined as affines. A few months before I settled in Sivepe, six
households migrated there from Garombi. All the men were members of the
Sorovi clan, though of different lineages. A year after they migrated, five of the
householders were classified as part of the Jegase clan (by the use of sibling
terms of address) while the sixth was classified as part of the Seho clan.

621 I found a similar pattern in eleven other multi-clan villages I visited. When I
first inquired, I was mostly told that they were two-clan villages, the names of
614 the clans being given in each case. Two of the villages were said to have four
616 clans, two pairs of two. Whenever I sought detailed data, I found male
householders belonging to additional clans. In Hohorita I was told that the front
half was inhabited by two clans, and the back half by two further clans. In fact
twelve clans were represented; when this came to light, my informants explained
to me that the clan names I had been given at first were those of the 'main'
clans. There seemed to be a strong ideological notion that a multi-clan village (or
[582] village section) should consist of two local clan groups. Furthermore, this
arrangement affects the marriage rules: once Timumu became joined with Jegase
under the same clan name, marriages between the two fused local clan, groups
became prohibited.

5. *Complementary Opposition in Village Topography*

If the reduction of multi-clan to two-clan villages had occurred only in Sivepe and a few other villages, it could easily be explained solely by processes of clan fusion which are prevalent throughout the area and which will be discussed further below. But I found it to be a regular feature of the

consolidated Orokaiva villages I visited. Yet historical evidence of earlier 621
settlements precludes the supposition that co-residence of reciprocating marriage 614
groups was ever a regular practice or a preferential rule. Such co-residence can be
explained only by Australian pressure towards village consolidation. Far from 616
being congenial to the Orokavia, it may better be regarded as a major potential cause [583]
of strain. When the Australian administration planned to intensify this
consolidation policy after the Mount Lamington eruption in 1951, Belshaw [177]
rightly warned the authorities in a published paper (1951) that the enforced
co-residence of affines would create serious social strains which might impede [578]
the administration's social development objectives. The Orokaiva response to
these social strains appears to have been to restructure the multi-clan villages and
give them an organisational form they are more easily able to handle. Under this
arrangement agnates, uterine kin and affines live together in the same village but
are sorted into two groups of real or fictional agnates. These two groups have
affinal relations with one another and stand in complementary opposition in
social and political affairs.

In some villages this complementary opposition is further expressed in the 361
position of the two groups in village topography. Nearly all Orokaiva villages are 616
built in two facing rows separated by a fairly wide grassed area known as the
araha. For cosmological reasons that do not concern us here, these rows tend to
run in the direction of the top of Mount Lamington – from downhill (*veari*) to
uphill (*avunu*). The two rows are known as *mende* or *bende*, a word which may
mean 'nose' or 'hillock' or 'side of a village'. The two sides are designated as
ihane and *sose*, *ihane* being to the right of a person facing the mountain, *sose* on
the left. In 1965, when Sivepe was rebuilt on a new site, all Seho men built their
houses on the *ihane* side while all Jegase men built on the *sose* side.

Outwardly, the topography of this new Sivepe does not differ significantly 361
from the earliest descriptions we have of Orokaiva villages in the early 616
post-contact period. These villages also had two sides. They had the same short
connecting lines of houses at the *avunu* and *veari* ends of the village. Williams 621
reports that these connecting lines prevent spirits from coming into the *araha*.
The only differences are in size and in the style of the houses. The basic
innovation in New Sivepe lies in the arrangement of social groups on the village
site. Real or assumed agnatic links now exist between all the householders on
each side, whereas affinal relations exist between all the householders of one side
and the other. The door openings of the affines face each other, but they are
separated by the wide field of the *araha*. When people sit down to smoke and
chew betelnut in front of their houses, there is easy movement between
residents who live on the same side. They frequently visit each other's fires
without any ceremony. But one does not cross the *araha* to sit on the other side
without a serious purpose. One watches what happens on the other side; one
does not always hear it. There is frequent and friendly contact between the sides
but it is clear to the observer that the physical distance between them symbolizes
an equally real social distance.

This residential arrangement between affines is not traditional. If affines 361
happened to live in a traditional hamlet there were no formal patterns for 616
keeping them at a physical distance. When multi-clan villages were first
established, households of the various clans were placed next to each other in a 614
621
[178]

exchange alone, nor by rules of complex generalised exchange alone. If the 583
Orokaiva had only restricted exchange, they would not be periodically forced to 614
look for new groups with whom to intermarry. If the Orokaiva had only
complex exchange (as Meggitt seems to believe is the case for all people of the New Guinea Highlands, viz. the Introduction to Glasse and Meggitt, 1969), then there would be no explanation for the various forms of preferential marriage that are still practised and the tendency to establish forms of dual organisation.

From one viewpoint we may say that the Orokaiva system is *'une sorte de faille de l'échange restreint'*, because the Orokaiva are forever trying to
re-establish such a system. From another viewpoint it is true that, having entered [616]
into new alliances and thus moved in the direction of a system of generalised exchange, they always attempt as soon as possible to convert the new alliance into a moiety system. The fear of setting up alliances with new groups is still very strong today, in spite of wide experience with travel among foreign tribes when men take up wage employment outside their own district. They still marry wives preferably from their own village, or one of the villages with which reciprocal arrangements exist. There was not a single current Sivepe marriage that fell outside this pattern.

It is certainly curious that the chief effect of white contact upon the marriage 583
system was to emphasise the tendency to the formation of moieties through 614
enforced village consolidation. One would have expected that greater physical 616
security, greater mobility and the contacts brought about through labour
migration would have widened rather than narrowed the men's matrimonial 177
universe. One imagines that processes of social and economic development must ultimately make an ideology of restricted exchange obsolete. Meanwhile, however, we observe mainly a movement in the opposite direction. Not only has government pressure unintentionally increased the opportunities for village endogamy, and moiety formation, but the combined teaching of government and mission has deprecated elopement marriages, and penalised the showing of hostility between affines. The war expeditions which led indirectly to so many marriages were stopped. The concern with pacification on the part of the authorities led to an even greater preference than previously for 'safe' marriages and therefore a narrowing of the marriage universe. My records show more marriages with partners from distant villages prior to 1915 than can be found over the last generation. It is therefore complex generalised rather than restricted exchange that was (unintentionally) discouraged.

10 *Conclusions*

This examination of the Orokaiva marriage system indicates that membership in 582
corporate groups (the *hae*, the local clan group and the village) all have a
significant influence on marriage choice, not only negatively, by prohibiting 614
certain partners under a rule of exogamy, but also positively, by pursuing from 583
time to time the establishment of forms of dual organisation. Certainly every individual is more or less free to choose between the two existing systems – direct exchange and complex generalised exchange. There is, however, a constant feature on the level of group relationships, namely the existence of reciprocating pairs of groups. Another constant feature is the temporary nature of these

CHAPTER XI

EPILOGUE

I have not presented in this work all the empirical facts that may be elucidated with the proposed model of Orokaiva society. I have had space to discuss only a 121 small minority of the myths which are at my disposal but there are a number of others that are more readily understood in the light of my analysis of social structure. The description I have given of corporate activities in patrilineal descent groups has been rather summary, even though much additional evidence could have been marshalled presenting them as competitive segments of a wider non-agnatic collectivity. The rather interesting institution of hereditary friendship, between both men and women, has not been described although this forms a not unimportant part of the total exchange network. Indeed, I have not [114] reported the exchange network in much detail at all, largely because this has already been done in my earlier work entitled *Cultural Consequences of a Volcanic Eruption Experienced by the Mount Lamington Orokaiva* (1969).

Many of the facts reported in this earlier work can be more adequately explained in the light of the analysis offered in the present one. Orokaiva reactions to the eruption, for instance, are not easy to account for unless we can explain the powerful driving force of the *iji eha* ideology discussed in Chapter IV above. The earlier work also did not elucidate the relationship between Orokaiva 177 and the white man. It was made clear that this relationship is an ambivalent one, 654 positive when the Orokaiva leader plays the roles of councillor, village constable or 'committee', but negative when he plays the role of organiser of a co-operative or of transmitter of messages with a millenarian import. Although these roles were described in detail, I perhaps did not make it clear enough that they are often played by the same individuals at different times, or at the same time, and that even if they are played by different individuals, these are not necessarily thereby placed in a position of conflict between one another.

We can, however, easily account for this ambivalence if we remember that social exchange between Orokaiva and white authorities is subject to the laws of the exchange system: there is an alternation between positive and negative cycles. Some members of an Orokaiva group may be in a positive cycle of reciprocity with white authority while others are in a negative one. This does not necessarily mean that the members of the Orokaiva group are in conflict with each other. The same members of a community may support both a co-operative to which the administration objects, and a councillor who acts as an administrative mouthpiece.

The facts are that the administration provides valuable benefits (and the mission likewise) so that there is a sound basis for cycles of positive reciprocity.

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On the other hand grievances inevitably arise and these are hard to resolve as the Orokaiva and the white man rarely reside in the same village, rarely eat together and very rarely intermarry. Thus the resolution of conflict is never easy as none of the traditional mechanisms is available for shifting a social relationship into a cycle of positive reciprocity. In these circumstances the Orokaiva requires channels for expressing both positive and negative reciprocity. He therefore has both. The importance he attaches to the one or to the other will necessarily fluctuate according to the changing course of events: the relative weight given to benefits received and grievances experienced at a given time.

It is a mistake to assume, as a European is easily inclined to do, that an Orokaiva is either 'friendly' or hostile to him. It would be more accurate to say that an Orokaiva is, at a given time, involved in a positive or negative exchange cycle with many *alters*, both European and Orokaiva. He usually does not have a commitment to these *alters* that goes beyond the history of the social exchange conducted with them. He assumes that if a European values the continuation of a positive cycle, he will provide sufficient benefits to maintain it. If an Orokaiva is unsatisfied with the balance of exchanges he will usually make no secret of his feelings. If a European ignores these feelings one may expect a negative cycle to begin.

My method may thus have some relevance for applied anthropology. It is unwise, in a situation such as the Orokaiva one, to ignore either the millennial-type leadership or the supporters of the administration. Councillors and similar functionaries act as bond-friends of the Europeans. Their role is non-charismatic but they can be influential as mediators in positive social exchange with the authorities. Millennial leaders tend to stand aloof from the authorities, and this, in terms of the Orokaiva system, is an expression of negative reciprocity. They are charismatic mediators in the relationship between their followers and the *dema* figure whose blessings they are endeavouring to obtain.

Now it would be wrong to suppose that the administrative Orokaiva mediators are concerned with socio-economic development whereas the supporters of a millenial movement or crypto-millennial co-operative[1] are not. I have shown in Chapter IV that the ideology of the *iji eha*, under which we may classify all development ideology of the Orokaiva, whether government-sponsored or not, is based on the assumption that the blessings of the modern age derive from a *dema*-like conceptualisation of Jesus Christ. The two types of leaders differ only in the channel of mediation between the people and the *dema*. For the councillor, the blessings are channeled through the government or mission authorities; for the messianic leader they are channelled differently.

P. Lawrence (1963) takes the view that millennial movements are a 'hindrance' rather than a 'help' to economic development in Papua and New Guinea. If the argument I put forward in the preceding paragraph is correct, the Orokaiva view all economic development as ultimately religious, whether it is channelled through a millennarian leader or the government. Lawrence's question then reduces itself to a narrower one: whether a millennarian leader is a 'help or a hindrance' in mediating the ideology of the new age. This question, however, may not be relevant to Orokaiva realities: to the extent that negative reciprocity between Papuan and white is prevalent, the millennarian leader will be valuable as mediator with the *dema* of the *iji eha*. In 1966–7, millennarian 654 leadership among the Orokaiva was relatively unimportant and thus may be 177 ascribed to a relatively high degree of positive reciprocity between Orokaiva and the white authorities. Among the more important benefits received by the Orokaiva were: the success of cash cropping, especially in coffee, the rapid extension of education, health and other valued services, and the rising influence of the Higaturu Local Government Council which was viewed as a gift from the government to the Orokaiva.

A significant growth of millenarianism would therefore indicate a growing emphasis on negative reciprocity. How should it be dealt with? According to the Orokaiva ethos, the authorities should make gifts or concessions to expiate their unsatisfactory performance. Repression of the movement would only perpetuate the negative cycle. Far from regarding the movements as a hindrance to development, I would regard them as a political process: consciously or unconsciously, they are means of bringing pressure to bear upon the authorities. The ultimate pressure is obtaining the benefits of development.

Knowledge of the rules of Orokaiva social exchange may help us to understand not only social but also political and religious patterns because exchange, in the sense in which I have used the term, represents a world view and penetrates a wide range of institutions and situations. If my method is applied to the analysis of millenarian phenomena, those phenomena would need to be described as essentially a mode of pursuing *ivo*. Now I have shown (Chapter VII) that *ivo*, whether under its aspect of expiation or communion, is fundamentally a magical device for the mediation of social relationships. It would follow from this argument that millenarianism has as its ultimate aim the management of social relations with white power bearers. This manipulative aspect of millenarianism is brought out clearly by Burridge (1960) who presents each new phase of the movements in Tangu as an attempt to establish more effective social relations with white powers. I cannot attempt here to prove with any finality that millennial movements are objects of mediation in a negative exchange cycle and that this would explain all their social, economic, political and religous characteristics. My only purpose is to suggest that the method proposed in this work can generate fresh and perhaps interesting hypotheses in many subjects of current interest in Melanesian ethnography.

Throughout this work, I have been concerned to demonstrate a method 121 rather than to expound a theory. If, in conclusion, I shall now make a few theoretical remarks, this is to acknowledge debts rather than to develop new propositions. My debt to Lévi-Strauss is so obvious that little needs to be said about it. I have utilised the methods advocated in virtually all his major works. My use of the concepts of exchange and reciprocity as the basic principles of my analysis is due to the inspiration of Lévi-Struass.

Yet Lévi-Strauss' work has less to say about the methods of ethnography than about the structural analysis that must follow after the ethnography is completed. The profound implications of his thought for the practice of ethnography remain to be elaborated. Here a number of his followers have made valuable contributions which I have found very helpful. I shall confine myself here to mentioning a few examples. Dumont has shown, by practical demonstration, that in societies where positive marriage rules exist, affinity is

Origins of the System (1894 - 1918)

From the beginning of British administration in Papua 657 in 1888, it was policy to encourage Papuans to engage in cash 241 cropping. MacGregor, the first Lieutenant-Governor, advocated cash cropping to those villagers he met in his tours of the country, but such incidental advice by an itinerant official was probably not very influential. The first legislative provision [466] to promote cash cropping was a Native Regulation, introduced by MacGregor in 1894, which provided that magistrates could [245] compel indigenous people to plant coconuts on penalty of a fine.(1) This was extended in 1903 by a regulation which provided for compulsory planting of other economic trees. Native [177] agriculture was not, however, the main plank of agricultural policy for although government staff were trained to "treat natives justly" they were directed "above all to prepare the country for development by Europeans. There is not, and there has not been, any other policy".(2)

Planting under the regulations took place slowly, and only in areas which were under the close supervision of magistrates. It appears that there was little planting of cash crops [433] by Papuans other than under the compulsion of the regulation and at this stage it does not seem to have been a matter of concern to the Administration whether the people planted individually or in groups. It has not been possible to determine which pattern was most frequently followed in practice, though the examples noted in the literature mostly involved planting by village or clan groups rather than by individuals. Coconuts were the main crop planted under the regulations, but rice, rubber, kapok, peanuts and fruit trees were tried in smaller quantities in some areas.[1] 657 241

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(1) Native Regulation No. 2, 1894. Miles (1956: 318) regards MacGregor's technique for promoting native agriculture as unusually enlightened, but in fact it seems to have been almost universal in the Pacific at that period, and MacGregor had become familiar with it while serving under Sir Arthur Gordon in Fiji. Similar regulations were introduced by Germany to Samoa and New Guinea, by the United Kingdom to Fiji and the Gilbert Islands, by New Zealand to the Cook Islands and by Holland to Indonesia.

(2) MacGregor to Lamington 4.10.1898 (quoted in Healy 1962 : 84).

After the turn of the century less emphasis was given to the policy of expanding indigenous plantings of cash crops and instead Papuans were persuaded to work as labour on European plantations. In 1906 the Lieutenant-Governor stated that not only was staff inadequate to enforce the 1894 regulation, but that where it was enforced the resultant income attracted traders whom he felt to be a bad influence on the Papuan people. Employment on European plantations, on the other hand, was considered to be beneficial.[2] This policy remained until after the first world war, though some Resident Magistrates also applied the regulations in order to extend native plantings. 657 464 177 [433]

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[1] For a more detailed study of the application of these regulations see Miles 1956 : 319-23.

[2] Territory of Papua Annual Report (hereafter abbreviated to P.A.R.) 1905-6 : 9.

245 No payment was prescribed, and none was made for carrying
466 from the plantations to the depot at Higaturu. Sometimes payment was made for carrying produce the 16 miles from Higaturu
[465] to the port (usually in twist tobacco according to informants), but at other times persons convicted of breaches of the ordinance were required to carry as punishment. Mules were
[492] later introduced to carry the produce from the factory to the
[493] port, and in the late 1930's a truck was acquired to transport it from Popondetta to Sananada. The mule train was still used between Higaturu and Popondetta until 1940.

245 Official reports of the period consider the reluctance of the villagers to have been due either to a lack of understanding
177 of the benefits they would derive from the scheme or to innate laziness. C. T. Wurth, who was Resident Magistrate in 1926, considered that the people "had not grasped the advantages of the plantation and the benefits they will eventually reap" and noted that many men from the villages with plantations had gone off to work as labourers elsewhere (P. A. R. 1925-6 : 50). His successor described the "toil and disappointments" entailed in supervising the plantations and stated that the village people "have to be driven to it by the fear of gaol".(1) He was aware that there was no cash return during the first four years after establishment of plantations and hoped that attitudes would change as soon as the trees came into bearing and income was derived.

241 As noted on page 7, half the produce of the plantations was to belong to those who produced it and the other half to the government. But in practice in the Northern District, producers were required to deliver all produce to the government
[651] depots at Higaturu, Popondetta and Buna.(2) The half of the

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(1) P. A. R. 1926-7 : 53. A later magistrate followed a policy of "incessant talking to the village councillors ... for even if they do not think his [the magistrate's] advice worth following, they may be glad to take it as the only means of keeping him quiet" - P. A. R. 1933-4 : 29.

(2) The main depot was at Higaturu until 1941, but in that year new machinery was installed at Popondetta to handle pulping, drying and hulling. (Since 1933 the coffee had been shipped in the parchment stage to Port Moresby where it was hulled at the government rice factory). Before the Higaturu depot was closed, however, war broke out and all three depots were destroyed.

Post-war community plantations (1945 - 62)

177 Shortly after the outbreak of war with Japan, government
services were reduced to a minimum, coffee buying ceased
657 and the community cash crop gardens were soon abandoned.
[241] The Orokaiva area became the scene of intense fighting between
Japanese and Australian-American Forces during 1942 and
1943 and civilian government was not restored until 1945. No
further Commissioners for Native Plantations were ever
appointed but towards the end of 1944 an Agriculture Officer
(Mr. F. Shaw) was posted to Higaturu. One of his tasks was to
[461] get the pre-war plantations into production again. Most informants
today say they had no wish to resume work on the
plantations owing to the low payments made pre-war, which
they assumed would continue. Their association with Amercian
forces had led them to consider their labour to be worth considerably
[466] more than pre-war rates. However the military
administration (A. N. G. A. U.) was then still in charge of the
Territory, and they were instructed to recommence work on the
plantations.

The pre-war system whereby every man worked on
245 the coffee each morning from Monday to Friday was resumed,
466 though supervision was transferred from the village constable
to a "coffee boss", one of whom was appointed by the government
to oversee each plantation.

Penal sanctions were less severe than pre-war, the
usual punishment for failure to attend work being one month's
imprisonment instead of three, but before long the sanctions
465 were relaxed and few people were convicted. Income was
[434] higher, for whereas before the war the villagers were paid only
half of the proceeds of the crop, after the war they were paid
the full price. (1) Ongoho people inform us that annual payouts
after the war were £6 to £9 per man per year, and in addition

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(1) The Native Plantations (Papua) Ordinance of 1952 provided for the total value of the crop to be paid in cash to the producers. In practice, the policy had been followed for several years before that.

241 As Mair (1948 : 85) has noted, the fact that officials
657 could fall back on compulsion gave them no encouragement to
[466] considering any alternative approach. The European officer's
link with the people was through the village constable, and from
[625] what the Orokaiva tell us this line of communication operated in
[177] one direction only, for most constables felt that it was improper
to query instructions given by Europeans, or to make suggestions to them. Not only was no attempt made to create local institutions which could have carried responsibility for community projects, but the imposed organizational structure did not provide the people with an acceptable model on which to fashion any new local institution. The vesting of all powers of sanction in the central government, moreover, forestalled the possibility of their spontaneous emergence.

465 Problems of income distribution: While the Admin-
istration paid each individual separately, no overt problem
212 arose, but when government ceased buying and the coffee was sold to a trading company a lump sum was given to the person or persons who brought it in, usually the local coffee boss. Relatively few Orokaiva were literate (among the Asigi there were none) though it may have been possible to have made equal payments to all persons. However, as the community was unable to enforce equal work this was not feasible. Had there been a sufficient standard of literacy it may have been possible to operate on co-operative rather than communal lines (i.e. making payment in terms of work contributed) but in fact few people had the necessary degree of literacy and almost none had any knowledge of book-keeping.

461 Problems of motivation: The Orokaiva were never
willing participants in any of the communal schemes (with the
[466] exception of rice growing in 1949). Some of them may have
begun some of the projects willingly, but continued operation
[433] was only achieved by force. The money incentive was quite
inadequate: most of the schemes produced no income at all, and those that did gave less (in cash and kind) than employment elsewhere. As already noted in the section on work organization, there was no social incentive to continued production.

241 It has been suggested that the pre-war community
projects were merited in that they introduced the people to the

Appendix F

The Orokaiva villager's experience of cash cropping

241 While the writer was conducting research into communal
plantations in some villages, an assistant, Mr. Edric
177 Eupu, visited others. The following brief extracts from two of
114] his preliminary reports indicate the natuve of the villager's experience
of cash cropping, and help to explain the current lack
of enthusiasm on the part of many Orokaiva for further experiments.

Ahora Communal Garden

Before the war there were four cash crops planted at Ahora: coconut, cotton, cocoa and coffee. The coconut was planted on two clans' land. The names of the two clans were Huruba and Gambe. There were three villages took part in the work. The names of the villages and clans who took part in the work were ....

245 They planted coconuts but did not make any copra.
[There was no market for it at the time]. The coconut was
[258] ready to make copra, but the Government officer at Buna told
the people to plant the cotton. The cotton was planted on Gambe
248 clan's land ..... The people worked one year for the cotton
465 without pay .... When the cotton was ready .... they picked it
and took it to Buna (government station) .... and they got paid.
The pay was 1/- for each man in the three villages for the work
they had done for the cotton. After they got the pay the work
on the cotton stopped.

Then government told the villagers to plant the cocoa
245 and they planted. It was planted on Gambe clan's land. The
cocoa bore and they took the pods to Buna. Government paid
for the pods [but the pay was insufficient] .... Then the coffee
was planted on Huruba clan's land .... The people used to work
[465] every day .... The pay for the coffee was about 5/- to every
man each year. While they were still doing this the war came.
[133] After that they did not work until Mt. Lamington erupted.

743 366 [432] [438] The Public Health Department maintains a large base hospital at Saiho, 5 miles from Sivepe. A vegetable market at Saiho, originally established to supply the hospital, now serves a wider range of customers and at present is open every Thursday and Saturday (E. Waddell: personal communication). A few Sivepe people in our sample sell vegetables there regularly but seldom buy anything except lime (for chewing with betel nut). There are well-stocked trade stores at Saiho and Awala and a Savings Bank agency at Awala. In 1963 a trade store was established near Sasembata, by a member of Kongahambo village.

177 648 We could not complete this introductory sketch of local facilities and conditions without noting the traumatic experiences of the mountain Orokaiva during the life-span of the older men. Even an abbreviated description of local attitudes towards introduced economic and social changes such as we attempt later, would be inadequate unless it alluded to the likely deep impact of the following events.

First, the early government patrols, which encountered widespread opposition from the Orokaiva, were attacked most persistently by the 'Wasida' people who include the Sivepe villagers. Fighting was fierce and many of the old men we talked to had seen close relatives killed or wounded.

Second, during World War II the paths of advance and retreat of Australian and Japanese troops crossed this area and the Orokaiva were 'drawn in as helpers, willingly or unwillingly, on [121] both sides of the lines'.[1] Some Orokaiva groups also became involved in intertribal skirmishes at this time - during our stay an imminent military exercise occasioned apprehensions among some Orokaiva about a possible resumption of dormant intertribal conflict at the time of the exercise.

Scattered for safety in the bush while the wartime campaigns swept the area, many people in the neighbourhood of Sivepe died of malnutrition. In addition, there was very thorough recruiting of local men for subsequent phases of the war elsewhere in the [161] Territory. In 1948 patrol staff reported that there was cause for concern in the continued decline in population.[2] At this

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[1] Keesing 1951:8. For an account of this episode see McCarthy 1959: Ch. 4, 10 ff., see esp. pp.110, 126n and maps pp.123, 357.

[464] [2] The war was said to have been a contributing factor; moreover, many villagers were employed as labourers on local European plantations and returned only at weekends; more important, the percentage of able-bodied males absent elsewhere as indentured labour had reached 31 and the officer accordingly recommended in 1948 that the area including Isoge, Isivita and Awala villages be closed to recruiting.

177 time the process of readjustment and restoration was still a
648 major question demanding attention. A few years later the third
misfortune occurred.

The eruption of Mt Lamington, which caused catastrophic loss
731 of life and dispossessed many people of their land,[1] left deep
impressions on the minds of the survivors, particularly an acute
sense of guilt which has been widely remarked upon. They felt
that God had punished them for not helping the Allies enough
during the war, and for not heeding the wishes of the mission and
the administration. Some observers ascribed both the marked
spirit of co-operation noticeable in evacuation camps and the
avowed intentions of many to obey government directions in the
future, to these negative feelings (Belshaw 1951:3-6; Keesing
[161] 1951:5). By this time 'population trends indicate that with the
present percentage of children, there are likely to be considerable increases in the future' (Plant 1951:4). The area was
[464] closed for recruiting but this did not solve the problem of the
[797] supply of labour for reconstruction because men were drawn back
to their casual jobs on local rubber plantations and the mission
asked each village to work a day a week rebuilding mission
stations (Belshaw 1951:8).

657 After the war, compensation was paid for property of the
villagers which had been damaged or destroyed, and following the
[731] eruption a programme of resettlement and rehabilitation was
instituted.

121 For our investigations, Sivepe was chosen from the villages in
the Saiho Census Division mainly because it had been one of the
127 sample villages in the Survey of Indigenous Agriculture conducted
by government departments of the Territory and of Australia on
behalf of the Food and Agriculture Organization's World Survey of
Subsistence Agriculture. Information from the survey has provided
quantitative material which, though summary, is directly comparable
with results of our short survey of subsistence cultivation. The
F.A.O. survey's sample was chosen by statistical methods.[2]

121 The interest which governed our own selection of a sample of
125 manageable size from among Sivepe villagers - and comparable with

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[1] Several thousand of the Orokaiva on the slopes of the volcano were killed by the clouds of hot dust emitted at about 200 m.p.h. and 200°C. Sivepe was just beyond the limits of the area destroyed. The villagers spent about a year's enforced absence in evacuation camps (see p.76), but some neighbouring people who survived were absent from their land for far longer periods.

[2] Walters 1963:4.

614 clan distribution can be obtained from the following summary of
diverse information from the mountain Orokaiva and the Aiga.

621 The people grouped under the names Isivita 1 and 2 and
Sasembata 1 and 2 numbered more than 1,600 in 1948 and occupied
614 44 villages. By the time of the eruption in 1951 the number of
villages had been reduced to 27 (see Plant 1951: Appendix 3) and
40 clans had branches in one or more of them - there were at least
17 clan branches in villages other than these, representing 6 of
the 40 clans. Eleven of the Isivita and Sasembata villages consisted
only of members of 1 clan, although only 3 of these
villages constituted a whole clan.

Williams (1928:124; 1930:101) suggests that a periodic in-
crease in the 'multiplicity of small clans', caused by subdivision,
is only 'in part neutralized by the dying out of older clans'. He
says that there is a marked consistency in clan organization
throughout the Orokaiva area (1925:406)[1] and in 1923 the generali-
sation that 'local and lineal groups seem to be largely coincident'
[648] was true of the Jegasi-Sarahu, i.e., the Wasida group of villages
(W.10, 31). In this context he adds that this pattern was altered
[171] somewhat by the dispersal caused by a special factor: an attack by
the first government patrol on Wasida and neighbouring villages.
He does not record the relevant clan branches present in local
groups other than the 15 Jegasi-Sarahu villages of the tribe, but
5 of the 7 clans listed are seen to be represented in more than one
village. However, only 2 of the 15 villages contained 2 clan
[361] branches. The average village consisted of 6 houses (normally
nuclear families) and a single-boys' house (W.1), perhaps 25
people in all.

Data collected in 1924 among the Aiga show that there were 37 clans among the 50 villages of the tribe, with an average of about 35 members, or perhaps 'a dozen families', in each clan (Williams 1930:7, 101; 1925:418). Williams says that the 'normal', 'typical' or 'original' residential group was the 'clan-village' - clan and village were coextensive (1925:407; 1928:124; 1930:103, 310; and 107, 131) - but notes that in the larger villages there were 'often two clans or more' (1925:407). In fact, 12 of the 24 clans listed in 36 of the Aiga villages had 2 or more branches there (O.19, 20). Yet Williams might then have argued that in such instances fission would soon be completed and 'the normal conditions restored, viz. the clan locally unified and in

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[1] Cf. Reay 1953:110: Williams' information on the Aiga, Binandele and Tain Daware tribes reveals 'a social organization practically identical with that of the Wasida people'; see also Williams 1930:7.

428 before establishing a household. The older brother should in time provide the other with an equitable share of the land.

There is no system of primogeniture in theory or practice.[1] In one case, however, a childless man, who was adopted into the local branch of Jegase clan and has also married a Jegase woman, either has bequeathed his land to the leader of his wife's lineage who allocated it to his second son, or he has himself bequeathed it specifically to the boy (who was given his wife's deceased brother's name). Most of the patrimonial land and some land held by the woman are to be inherited by the elder son.

241 Turning to the extent of landholding, the 12 households studied hold 138 acres near Sivepe or 2.7 acres per head, all of it arable with the exception of little more than 1 or 2 per cent.[2] Some members claim to retain land in relatively distant areas where they or their forefathers originally lived. In cases where the Sivepe people had not exercised their rights to cultivate these land claims, no estimate of their size was made.

b. The history of local settlement

177 The territory of the mountain Orokaiva was opened up when a new
road from Buna to the Yodda Valley goldfields near Kokoda was built
in 1904. In this part of Orokaiva country individual tribes were
not as isolated as elsewhere. Although the various tribes were
initially described as being constantly warring, and likely to
[721] attack government parties,[3] peace was secure within 4 years.
Intertribal feuds were effectively suppressed, except for an
occasional raid prompted by the docility of neighbouring tribes
under the novel conditions brought about by the arrival of the
[166] Europeans. Many tribes, including the 'Wasida', were able to
settle on their outlying lands which formerly they had not
occupied for fear of raids.

[464] Many of the people worked on the construction of the road, and later as carriers; by 1909 some had signed on for labour elsewhere

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[184] [1] In this way, the mountain Orokaiva differ from at least one other Orokaiva tribe, the Yega at Beporo (R. Dakeyne: personal communication).

[162] [2] This density is the equivalent of 237 persons per square mile (cf. 300-500 per square mile for Southern Chimbu, Brown and Brookfield 1959:74). The Saiho Census Division, on the other hand, has only about 75 persons per square mile; however, as Map 2 indicates, it includes extensive areas of unoccupied and generally unused rainforest surrounding the concentration of populations with higher densities and separating them from their former enemies. Some of the land of the thousands of Kombu Sangara killed in 1951 also appears to fall inside the Saiho boundaries.

[3] See Territory of Papua 1903-4:39; ibid. 1904-5:14, 36.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 41]

177 in Papua (Territory of Papua 1908-9:19). In 1904, 4 village
464 constables had been appointed from the peoples along the new road.
By 1908 members of the various tribes were peaceably trading with
625 the carriers along the road (Territory of Papua 1907-8:22).

In about 50 years preceding the establishment of their present
166 village the groups now represented in Sivepe had between them
361 been involved in shifts of residence between a series of 14
village sites within an area of about 2 square miles adjoining
177 the Sohu River. Informants claimed that they or their ancestors
moved from 11 of these under instructions from government officers
to amalgamate into larger units. During this period members of
several other descent groups have either accompanied them or
established independent villages and worked land of their own in
[621] the same area. Intermarriage among contemporary villages there
was common and individuals frequently moved from one to join kin
in another.

166 The 4 Jegase lineages can trace the history of their groups
back to a point of common origin in the first decade of the
361 century in the village of Simbehata and its 'satellite' Totogata,
both on what is now Jegase land hardly a mile from the present
613 site of Sivepe.[1]

(i) Migration 1900-50: The Bebehupa moved from Simbehata to Korogombata[2] and were joined by some members of Usohu living nearby.[3] Except for 3 families which moved out to form Kisisita, Aurija and Andakahambo villages, they remained there until about 1937 when they were asked by the Administration to reunite with these 3 to establish Korinasusu. One of the 2 major pre-war tracks from the coast to Kokoda lay nearby and when Japanese and Australian troops moved along this in 1942 the people abandoned the village and moved into isolated garden huts. Most villagers returned to Korinasusu after the war but 1 group founded Nahihita nearby.

[657] In 1950 the Administration instructed the Bebehupa of
Korinasusu and Nahihita to join the Usohu people living in
Gogovosusu and Binduta to form one large village. Up to that
time the villages had been confined to Jegase land but because

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[1] For place names mentioned in this section see Map.2.A

[2] Mentioned as a 'Jegase village' by Williams in 1923 (W.83), as are Sivepe, Pusahambo and Hanimkumbari (see pp.34-7). He also lists them as Awala villages.

[3] A number of the older Jegase men claimed that the Usohu people formerly regarded themselves as members of Jegase clan.

A, [See Category 102, p. 40--Analyst]

731 361 food from their abandoned gardens which they found in good condition, apart from the uncontrolled growth of weeds.

No doubt minor adjustments in the distribution of land rights were made in the course of resettlement of the land around Sivepe when the people returned after a year's absence. But they would not have been faced with the major problems met with in the crowded resettlement areas with large numbers of immigrants. When the people of old Sivepe-Pamba returned from the evacuation camp they re-established their village on its old site.

613 361 [578] [177] It was not long, however, before the Timumu people became involved in a protracted dispute with members of Kongahambo village (a new resettlement concentration near Sasembata), over garden damage caused by pigs, and in order to avoid more trouble they decided to move further away to build on their land at the present site of Sivepe village. The members of Berekipa and Arehu lineages and of Seho clan remained in the old village until a Patrol Officer asked them to reunite with the Timumu people. Since the Timumu were not keen to move back and since the occupants of the old village agreed with the Patrol Officer's assertion that it was poorly drained, these Jegase and Seho people moved to Sivepe in 1953. They were given permission to build by the Timumu lineage which owned most of the land on the site.

[754] Meanwhile the Bebehupa had returned after the eruption to Binduta where they lived with Usohu people for about 8 years. Then friction between the 2 groups became too great and, following accusations of sorcery, 4 Bebehupa households came to live on pockets of lineage land within the new Sivepe. Their houses are not aligned with those of the Jegase men who arrived earlier but the other 2 clan branches tend to occupy distinct sections of the village.[1]

614 361 (iii) The distribution of other clan branches. One Jegase clan branch lives several miles west of Sivepe in Hururuta village. Another group of Jegase splintered from the local branch of the clan after protracted disputes and settled at Kakendetta near Popondetta. The Sivepe people do not know how they acquired land rights there but insist that they voluntarily relinquished all their original rights. The clan is represented in Kiorota, Mahihita and Isoge; Plant (1951: Appendix 3) also reported that there were members of the clan in Kokitate and Pondohe.

A large branch of the clan now at Suin village is said to have moved down from the slopes onto unoccupied land which lay between

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[1] The houses of parent and 1 son or a married daughter are usually adjacent but those of additional children are often located elsewhere.

166 [342] Individual mobility is still high, as we have already noted. Mobility is facilitated by the fact that material for housing - wange timber framework, blackpalm floor, walls and roof-thatch from sago trees[1] - is usually readily available and houses have an average life of only 4 years.

361 [621] The patrol of 1948 which found this area 'literally a mass of small hamlets' alludes to a possibility that the proliferation of these groups had become conspicuous only 'since the Japanese invasion'.[2] The long-term trend after the 1951 eruption, the next catastrophe to cause displacement of population comparable with the wartime upheaval, was towards effective consolidation instead of the proliferation of small groups, such as the scattering of post-invasion days.

361 178 621 When people began to leave the evacuation camp there was a spontaneous trend, which was encouraged by officials, towards building larger villages or, alternatively, clusters of 'hamlets' within sight of each other (Belshaw 1951:5 ff.).

[177] Plant (1951:6) and Belshaw (1951:6) suggested the following reasons for this tendency: that reconstruction would be easier if large numbers of neighbours co-operated; that the renewed interest in co-operatives led to a desire for larger groups; that the example of Ilimo Camp had given people the notion that larger groupings were correlated in some way with higher standards of living; that the Europeans, whose goodwill was now evident, favoured bigger settlements; and finally that their common disastrous experience had reinforced their sense of unity.

621 Although the present-day villages are smaller than those established at the start of the resettlement before the danger area had again been occupied, they are considerably larger than their counterparts of pre-eruption days: Belshaw (1951:2) says that the population of 'hamlets' in the area was of the order of 20 to 80 and the population of the 'hamlet group' under one name ranged from 150 to 400. At present in the Saiho Census Division the average population of the residential unit, in nearly every instance a nucleated village, can be no less than 175.[3]

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[613] [1] Some informants stated that materials (except sago) could be collected from any village members' land but most claimed they sought wood only from lineage land unless invited to use trees by particular kin from other groups.

[2] This report was probably the major source of Belshaw's and Keesing's information on the pre-eruption situation.

[3] We do not know the average size of a group of villages known by a 'hamlet group' name such as Awala, Waseta, etc.

249 177 [434] A new marketing scheme was devised after 1946. Any villagers who wished to tap their stands were provided with a tapping gouge and spout, anti-coagulate, treeseal and latex bucket by the same European planter. The tapper brought latex to the factory, was given a receipt and paid at the end of the week according to the weight of the dry rubber of the latex brought in. This system brought about a decline in tapping standards resulting in lower net cash returns for the villagers and seems to have been part of the background to their lack of enthusiasm for the lease noted by patrol staff in 1948.

433 249 In mid-1949 a report from the Popondetta District Office stated that all privately owned rubber areas were on the verge of closing down; production costs were high and market prices had fallen considerably.[1] The advent of the 'price-boom' later, caused by the Korean war, coincided with the eruption of Mt Lamington and the evacuation of the villages, and consequent cessation of production.

[435] By 1954 when attempts to organise systematic production were again resumed the market price had dropped to 3/6 d. per pound; the planter proposed to issue daily chits for latex bought and to pay cash at the end of every week. He offered the villagers, and the Administration agreed to, a price of a shilling per pound dry rubber content for all grades of rubber accepted. A system was organized whereby he provided for the transportation of latex by road from collecting points.[2] He arranged for the tapping of alternate 'sections' every 4 to 5 weeks; the time interval was dependent upon the density of the latex offered. Kongohambo was the collecting point for one 'section' consisting of stands between Kendata and Binduta; Koropata was the collecting point for another section. Only 70 villages were still supplying latex, mainly because of the accessibility. A report on native agriculture in January 1956 noted that villagers had sold 3,600 lb. (dry weight) of rubber for £180 in the previous 6 months. This was produced from only 10 stands 'near Awala' and it was felt that [435] other existing stands would probably not be brought into production until roads were improved. By July 1958 the number of stands had not increased but 6,000 lb. (dry weight) of rubber was produced and sold for £300 in 5 months.

In 1958 the villagers ceased to sell latex and started producing coagulum because the planter ceased to provide transport: the

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[1] The report seems inaccurate where it says that the fall in price led the lessee to terminate production. In fact production continued.

[2] Some villagers are under the impression that the price they were paid for their latex was lower when it was collected by the planter.

178 individual mobility among the mountain Orokaiva. We especially
doubt the generalization that the introduction of tree crops
361 induces the fragmentation of villages into small 'bush settlements'
166 which many observers thought would be established on the site of
the gardens. When Agriculture staff first advocated individual
241 cash-cropping among the Orokaiva, the policy was opposed by mission
staff who feared that the villages would disintegrate as each
grower moved to live near his coffee garden.

This has not in fact eventuated although there has been some movement from large temporary post-eruption settlements like the Isivita villages when immigrants returned to their own land to plant coffee or cocoa.

b. Developments related to land tenure

425 Disparities between the areas in which individuals and groups held proprietary rights are overcome by individuals acquiring rights to other land through interpersonal relationships. Cash cropping by individuals does not seem to have reduced the flexibility of exchanges and transmission of land rights. Three of the 5 persons who planted coffee on land held by members of our sample are not members of the group holding proprietary rights. Similarly, of 28 people who applied to the local government council for registered areas of cash crop land on 7 blocks held by the sample, 8 were not members of the rightholding group.[1]

[654] The need for such transfers is increased by requests from extension officers and the council to locate coffee gardens contiguously to facilitate pest control, extension services and surveying.

Morton (1962:12) argues that new practices in the transmission
[241] of land rights have emerged with the expansion of coffee growing
since 1956. Our evidence, however, shows that the significant
[178] change has been rather the introduction of a new method of cash
cropping. The only experience the Orokaiva had of commercial
[177] agriculture previously was of large-scale production on plantations owned or directed by Europeans. They had not entertained
the possibility of production on an individual basis.[2]

423 Morton expresses a view widely held among government officers[3]
614 that the introduction of perennial crops is seen by members of the

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[1] Four of the other 20 applications were made on behalf of members absent in employment and 2 on behalf of boys.

[2] See Crocombe 1964:30.

[3] See Minutes of Higaturu Native Local Government Council Meetings.

Appendix B

The local co-operative venture

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The 3 clan branches in Sivepe have contributed to 2 joint savings accounts; one is shared by Seho and Jegase members and the other belongs to Timumu clansmen. These accounts were opened as part of a scheme involving several neighbouring villages.

In 1960 an officer of the Department of District Administration had recommended that the people in Sivepe and other villages consider opening savings accounts but they claim it was their own wish to pool their money for savings certificates in order to invest in some form of local amenity for which they had for some time been looking to the local government council.

[m]
The members of 2 clan branches at Hamburata village were the first to collect contributions under the leadership of an ex-medical orderly with 6 years' mission education, and others quickly followed their example. Soon most members of 12 clans in 7 villages, Hamburata, Sasembata, Torogata, Sivepe, Singi, Duve and Garombi had deposited money in a 'clan' account and scattered kinsmen in at least 4 other villages had contributed. Either following advice that a given figure should be the target for the first purchase of savings certificates or following an initial example, each of the 12 clans claimed to have collected £30 at first. Ten of them made a second collection of smaller amounts.

In June 1961 the Seho and Jegase people collected £30 and, as the others had already done, bought savings certificates to mature in 5 years. In July another £26 was collected and deposited but no further money has been collected since then.

Once the money had been collected advice was sought from the District Office as to how it might be invested. The plan eventually formulated was that the savings of all clans should be used to establish a trade store and later to acquire a vehicle to supply it. They were advised to arrange to have only an experienced man to manage the enterprise in its first stages and a Sasembata mission

Chapter 2

Contact history and the development of cash cropping

121 The post-contact history of the Orokaiva and their experience with cash cropping are described at length to demonstrate the very limited interactions between the subsistence and advanced sectors of the economy. It is the particular character of these interactions which provides the framework for understanding contemporary Orokaiva involvement in commercial activities.

(a) Initial contact

●177 The first recorded contact with Europeans was made in 1893 when the Governor of British New Guinea, Sir William MacGregor, and the Anglican missionary, Copland King, sailed along the coast as far as the Mambare River. It was, however, the opening of the Yodda valley goldfields in 1897 and the subsequent extension of government control by resident magistrates which brought the majority of the Orokaiva into the European orbit.

The first decade of contact was characterised by the extreme severity both of the resistance put up by the Orokaiva to miners travelling to the goldfields, and of the punitive expeditions conducted by the resident magistrates in retaliation for such attacks and for inter-tribal raids. Both Monckton and Murray refer to Orokaiva feelings of 'bitter hostility' (Murray 1912) and of their 'hating the government and their police' (Monckton, quoted in Walker 1909).

794 177 178 [491] [438] By 1907 the area was pacified, a road had been built from Buna to the Yodda goldfields and regular markets along it supplied carriers with food in exchange for tobacco, bottles and other new commodities. Shortly after, two cult movements appeared among the Orokaiva, one the Baigona movement, centring on magico-medical practices, the other a Taro cult, emphasising careful cultivation of taro and subsequent large feasts.[1] Worsley (1957:65-74) identified implicit anti-European elements in the latter and the beginnings of new organisational trends wherein cult leaders were

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[1] For a full description of these cults see Williams 1928.

794 not necessarily leaders in the old authority structure but often
people with particular experience of white rule (e.g., policemen).[1]
177 Both cults were suppressed by the Administration although the Taro
178 cult persisted until 1928 and possibly reappeared in the Gona-Buna
area in 1941 (Worsley 1957:124), concurrent with rumours of imminent
Japanese landings.

178 The ending of inter-tribal skirmishing, which directly affected
the social roles of the sexes, also extended the physical range of
657 interactions open to individuals and resulted in the proliferation
of hamlet groups, comprising single clan-branches, i.e. a fragmenta-
361 tion of the main villages. Administrative efforts in this period
[721] were directed towards countering this latter process and concentrat-
ing settlements along the roads to facilitate supervision, encouraging
improved building styles (particularly the erection of houses on
stilts above the ground) and establishing more ordered 'line'
villages built around a central square.

(b) Commencement of cash cropping

241 From its beginnings the mainstay of government policy was the
[657] encouragement of indigenous cash cropping. Regulations introduced
in 1894 and 1903 provided for compulsory plantings of economic
trees, particularly coconuts, rubber and citrus, but few were exploited commercially. Under the Native Plantations Ordinance 1918
and the Native Plantations Ordinances 1925-52, twenty-six community
plantations were established in the Orokaiva area with both government and villagers participating.[2] Cocoa, coffee, oil palm, cotton,
[466] tobacco and rice were all tried; however, owing to a fall in prices,
all but coffee were abandoned. According to Crocombe (1964:16),
[434] there was no enthusiasm among the people for the scheme as they
considered the cash returns inadequate: each man was required to
work sixty full days per year and returns varied from less than $1
to $8 per year, which was well below the returns from working on
European plantations at that time. Some 10,000 trees, predominantly
coconut, were planted in 1914-15 in the Orokaiva area and by 1921
it was estimated that there were 46,404 coconut trees in the Northern
[433] Division and some 7,000 rubber trees (mostly in the Awala area).
The planting of coffee commenced in 1923 and by 1936 there were

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[1] Such a development may well also have been characterised by the building up of more extensive group solidarities. Burridge (1960:25) does suggest, however, that the Taro cult may have been a particular expression of a similar type of cult occurring in the pre-contact era.

[2] Proceeds deriving from the sale of the crops were shared on a 50-50 basis. For a detailed treatment of these communal plantings see Crocombe 1964.

241 242 acres[1] which yielded 84 tons of hulled coffee in 1938-39. Some
[433] 1,000 cocoa trees were also planted in the pre-war period, although
only the copra and coffee were worked during this time. All com-
mercial agriculture ceased with the Japanese invasion in the second
[177] world war and was again interrupted by the eruption of Mt Lamington
[731] in 1951. The principle of compulsion was withdrawn in the same year
and community enterprise largely ceased in the mid 1950s with an
[466] increasing trend towards individual plantings. The whole scheme
was characterised not only by low returns to labour, delays in payment,[2] frequent disputed claims to plantings and serious problems in work organisation, but also by a definite feeling of resentment on the part of the indigenous participants.

(c) War and natural disaster

177 [731] The Orokaiva view of the government was no doubt influenced by the second world war, which led to the Japanese occupation of the Northern District from July 1942 to January 1943, and by the eruption of Mt Lamington in January 1951, causing the death of over 4,000 people and the destruction of the district headquarters and staff at Higaturu.

657 The impact of the Japanese invasion and subsequent Allied re-
advance has never been assessed but must be considered profound.
All Australian administration ceased and, when resumed, was vested
in the Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit (ANGAU), a military
[466] authority. Several thousand men co-opted as carriers by both
Australians and Japanese worked under very arduous conditions.[3]
Since the Orokaiva lay athwart the main Buna-Kokoda route which was
the scene of fierce fighting, many villagers retreated into the
surrounding hills where they were obliged to subsist on very
limited resources because of the absence of much of the potential
[687] labour force.[4] Others sided with the Japanese or profited by the
[541] power vacuum to attack or betray Allied troops and civilians or to
assert their authority over other Orokaiva. On resumption of
Australian rule, twenty-two men were sentenced for such deeds by a
military tribunal and publicly hanged at Sangara and Higaturu.[5]

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[1] An estimated 111,000 trees at a spacing of 10 by 10 feet.

[2] As much as three years lapsing between delivery and payment (see DDA, DS-17-4-5).

[3] For details of terms for the conscription and [illegible] conditions, see McCarthy 1959:116, 132.

[165] [4] A 1948 report refers to a rapidly decreasing population on the northern slopes of Mt Lamington and attributes it in part to the war when many died from malnutrition while hiding in the bush (Higaturu 29-8-33).

[5] A European informant stated that 'several thousand Orokaiva' witnessed the execution, the women 'wailing and mutilating themselves'.

73 than might have been expected.[1] However, the withdrawal of the
[433] relief teams, including agricultural officers, after the emergency,
may have left the people in a psychologically and technologically
deprived state, thus further inhibiting their concern with commerce.

[178] The instability of settlement consequent upon these disturbances
may also have impeded the evolution of such new forms of leadership
[171] and effective group action as have occurred among the Tolai.[2] The
careers of such new leaders as were emerging, perhaps with wider
group loyalties, have frequently ended catastrophically at important
points.[3]

177 (iii) Lack of co-ordination between the Anglican mission and
the Administration. Keesing (1952:21-2) refers to the 'delicate'
[797] matter of 'Government versus Mission responsibilities' and alludes
to the 'rivalry' between them in connection with the post-Lamington
[657] rehabilitation programme.[4] These two agencies are the most potent
external forces operating on Orokaiva society and their activities
and demands are not co-ordinated, thus accentuating the difficulties
of implementing a consistent development policy. Their demands on
the villagers' time may conflict, and their views on such important
matters as the purpose of education, the role of the teacher and the
role of commerce are at variance. The Anglican mission has no
formal representation at the policy-making levels in the District
though it has great influence in the villages.

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[1] Sjoberg, an authority on disaster research, states (1962:363): 'A typical adaption [to disaster in pre-literate societies] is resignation to one's fate. When catastrophe is thought to be engendered primarily by spiritual forces, man can himself do little to alter the course of events apart from recourse to religious and/or magical practices. Recall that he assumes the immutability of the natural-divine order, which includes also the social arrangements about him. Add to this the meagerness of technological know-how of the sort that would be useful in disaster rehabilitation and we see that mute acceptance of one's lot is the logical result.'

[2] See Salisbury 1962:338.

[3] For instance, the 'renegade' leaders hanged at Higaturu and Sangara; the administrative staff, teachers and the twenty priests-in-training who died at Higaturu in the Mt Lamington eruption, and
[166] the Orokaiva leader of the co-operative movement who also died at that time. Many of the most talented Orokaiva are serving outside the region in government, missions and commerce.

[4] Belshaw (1951:248) makes a similar allusion.

431 437 Other informal transactions involving specific reciprocal obligations include the exchange of labour services, gifts of animals killed during a hunting expedition and more or less casual transactions with non-residents.

574 Formal exchanges operate on a larger scale than the daily or
casual transactions. Crocombe (1966:71-2) has listed the main
Orokaiva traditional ceremonies ('pondo' or feasts) as marking
initiation, marriages, deaths, enhancement of prestige, land
[178] transfers, the re-establishment of peace after a quarrel and the
lifting of prohibitions between a man and his mother-in-law. The
first and last of these have become very rare. In addition to the
traditional ceremonies, parties may now be held to mark Christmas,
Easter, the saint's day of the local church, the opening of a
school or aid post, and birthdays.

A feast provides an opportunity for settling many obligations
which may be quite irrelevant to the ostensible purpose and may not
[437] concern the person or group actually 'giving' the feast. It may
involve one or several villages or descent groups. The feast foods
[262] are almost exclusively village-produced, although small amounts of
storebought goods, particularly rice, tinned fish, bread, tea and
sugar, are becoming more common. Some feasts, such as those marking
the end of minor disputes between individuals, are essentially exchanges and in themselves take little time; others include much
ceremonial and may last longer than twenty-four hours.[1]

Parties seldom involve reciprocal exchanges though at some large
ones traditional obligations to other participants may be settled.
Invitations are usually given on the basis of residence near the
location of the party rather than of membership of a particular
[535] descent group. Most take place during the afternoon and evening
[533] and non-traditional dancing to guitar accompaniment may continue
throughout the night. Generally, only the host's household is
[534] involved in much preparation for a private party but other men's
wives will help prepare food, for which some return is expected.
Often only a small number of those attending receive a share of
food in the customary manner. Others may participate in the dancing at will, but, if they wish to eat or drink, must purchase food
[177] or alcohol. Behaviour at such parties is largely imitative of
European practice, to the extent that at one wedding party observed
the bride was presented with a quantity of old plates, dishes and
cutlery by other villagers.

438 In addition to these exchanges with kinsmen, co-residents and
neighbouring villagers, there have been long-established trade
[437] links between the inland and coastal people. This trade originally

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[1] In the past they sometimes lasted several days.

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Table 4:5

Sivepe: non-traditional household property, November 1964

(Figures represent numbers of items)

Household no.	1	2	3	5	6	9	10	11	13	14	15
No. of adults	3	5	2	3	1	2	2	3	2	3	2
Tools and equipment:											
Axe	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	2
Bush knife	3	4	3	4	2	2	2	3	3	2	3
Grass knife	2	1	1	1	-	1	-	3	2	2	2
Shovel/spade	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	1	-	1
Hoe	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fork	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pocket knife	2	4	1	2	2	2	2	3	1	2	1
Saw	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
File	-	1	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
Hammer	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	1	-	1
Adze	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rule	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spanner	-	-	-	-	-	1 set	-	-	-	-	-
Shotgun	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Sack	2	-	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	2	-
Household:											
Cutlery	21	13	2	11	2	9	2	26	11	4	4
Cooking pot	3	5	1	1	-	4	1	4	4	2	3
Dish/plate	9	20	9	10	-	8	3	12	15	10	13
Mug/glass	2	9	1	5	-	4	-	5	2	5	4
Teapot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
Needle and thread	-	-	-	-	-	Yes	-	-	Yes	Yes	-
Hurricane lamp	2	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	2	1	1
Torch	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Radio	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Personal:											
Blanket	2	3	-	-	1	4	1	3	3	1	1
Sheet	2	4	3	-	1	1	-	2	1	-	1
Pillow	-	1	-	1	-	2	-	1	1	-	-
Mosquito net	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Sleeping-mat	1	3	-	2	-	-	-	1	2	2	-
Towel	3	7	1	1	1	3	-	1	1	1	-
Groundsheet cape	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Suitcase/kitbag/pack	4	4	2	-	-	2	1	5	4	1	3
Laplap	9	2	1	-	-	2	11	3	5	2	1
Shirt/blouse/dress	5	4	3	4	2	2	1	7	6	2	2
Trousers/shorts/skirt	9	11	3	3	1	7	-	13	5	5	4
Underwear	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	1
Sweater/coat	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Footwear	-	2	-	2	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
Belt	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	2
Handkerchief	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Hat	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hair oil/powder	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-
Comb/brush	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	4	-	-	-
Toothbrush	-	1*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mirror	2	2	-	2	-	1	1	2	3	2	1
Scissors	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Biro/pencil	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
Purse	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
Lighter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Watch	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-

* Acquired during the second world war!

Notes. 1. There is also some communally-held rubber-tapping equipment (tapping tools, spouts and a bucket) in the village, provided by the owner of the local rubber factory.

2. Considerable use is made of discarded metal containers, e.g. large cans for cooking pots, screw-top tobacco tins for lime, and beaten-out drums for hearths.

[621]

[177]

454 (d) Monetary and other assets

Table 4:12 shows that the monetary assets of the village in November 1964 amounted to $166.70, or $10.40 per adult resident. In contrast with Sivepe, most (67 per cent) was invested in savings bank accounts and almost all the rest was held in cash. Only two men owned shares although householder 23 intended to buy some if those of either Oro Ltd or OCGS proved their value.

Table 4:12

Inonda: monetary assets of households, November 1964
($)

Household no.	Cash	Savings bank	Shares		Total
			OCGS	Oro Ltd	
16	12.95	16.18	10.00	-	39.13
17	3.90	-	-	-	3.90
18	0.80	-	-	-	0.80
19	-	-	-	-	-
20	1.50	36.00	-	10.00	47.50
21	3.00	20.00	-	-	23.00
23	1.07	20.00	-	-	21.07
24	11.80	19.50	-	-	31.30
Total	35.02	111.68	10.00	10.00	166.70

438 [444] In October 1963, the head of household 23 established a trade store, deriving most of his supplies on credit from Oro Ltd's wholesale store in Popondetta. His stock included tinned foodstuffs, rice, biscuits, sugar, salt, tea, soft drinks, chewing gum, cigarettes, trade tobacco, laundry soap, matches, kerosene, torch batteries, clothing, razor blades and playing cards. In addition, he obtained some goods from Chinese-owned stores where the wholesale prices, particularly for rice, were considerably lower. Store customers included people from Inonda and neighbouring villages and passers-by on the main road. Business was best between February and April 1964 when construction gangs were improving this road. By July, most of the villagers had moved to the new site and a new, better-stocked store was opened about two and a half miles away, and sales of the Inonda store began to decline. When the store-owner moved to the new site, he did not begin rebuilding the store until late in December and kept only a few goods (biscuits, tobacco and kerosene) in his house.

511 177 (e) Other household property

Table 4:13 shows the inventories of household property acquired directly or indirectly from the cash sector of the economy, including

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63]

511
439

Table 4:13

Inonda: non-traditional household property, November 1964

Household no.	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
No. of adults	4	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2
Tools and equipment:									
Axe	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	3	2
Bush knife	3	2	1	2	3	4	3	4	2
Grass knife	2	2	2	1	1	1	3	2	2
Spade	4	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	1
Hoe	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Rake	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Saw	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	1
File	1	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	2
Hammer	2	1	-	1	1	1	2	1	2
Chisel	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	1	3
Measuring tape	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	-
Level	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
T-square	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Ladder	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Swimming glass	2	3	-	-	1	1	1	-	1
Fishing li[illegible]	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-
Shotgun	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Household:									
Cutlery	13	5	8	2	6	15	7	15	15
Cooking pot/kettle	12	7	4	-	5	4	4	6	5
Dish/plate	21	20	8	-	11	8	6	17	16
Mug/glass	2	3	1	-	3	-	1	7	6
Teapot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Pressure lamp	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Hurricane lamp	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-
Torch	1	1	-	-	1	1	1	-	1
Bucket	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
Water-drum	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	-
Iron	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Broom	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-
Table	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
'Stool'*	2	4	-	2	4	3	1	3	2
Tea-towel	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Personal:									
Blanket	6	1	2	1	1	2	-	3	1
Sheet	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	1	1
Pillow	1	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	2
Mosquito net	3	2	1	2	1	1	1	3	2
Towel	-	4	-	-	-	1	-	1	1
Suitcase/box/pack	3	2	1	-	1	2	1	4	1
Laplap	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
Shirt/dress/blouse	13	4	1	3	3	13	-	11	4
Shorts/skirt	13	1	3	1	4	10	1	10	7
Underwear	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-
Pullover	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Footwear	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3	-
Handkerchief	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Tie	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Comb/hairbrush	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Scrubbing brush	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mirror	2	1	-	1	-	1	-	1	1
Scissors	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	1	-
Umbrella	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Pencil	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Watch	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-

* These are old mortar-bomb cases which, inverted, serve as stools.

511 177 trade stores and wartime dumps. Most of the tools used regularly were purchased, but those in less constant use, such as picks, rakes, hammers and saws were mostly salvaged. The 'swimming glass' (goggles for fishing) is the only common piece of equipment not used in Sivepe.

[354] Inonda differs from Sivepe in household goods in that hurricane lamps are in common use, partly perhaps because kerosene is available at the trade store. More people own torches, which are often used when hunting by night. [415] Mosquito nets also are far more common in Inonda (although many are in poor condition) and this in part is due to a higher incidence of mosquitoes. Four households possess 44-gallon drums to collect rainwater.

511 (294) Several women make their own dresses and skirts and one has a flat-iron (which was not used during the survey). *Laplaps* are much less common in Inonda than in Sivepe.

The different environments of the two villages are illustrated by various items in Table 4:14.

Table 4:14

Inonda: household property derived from the subsistence sector

Household no.	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Item									
Sago-beater	4	1	-	3	-	1	1	-	2
Fishing net	1	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-
Spear	3	7	-	3	2	4	3	2	2
Sleeping mat	7	3	2	2	-	2	1	4	2
Tapa cloth	1	-	20	1	-	2	-	-	5
Comb	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Lime pot	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	1
String bag	5	2	4	1	2	4	2	6	6
Drum	-	2	-	1	-	1	1	1	1
Di and *hambo*	-*	28**	-	-**	7	-***	5	-***	-≠
Clay pot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-

* Kept by relative in another village; quantity unknown.
** Given to household 17 by household 19 who retains right of use.
*** Some given away in exchanges, others stolen.
≠ Unknown quantity kept by daughter in another village.

In Sivepe there are no hunting or fishing spears or fishing nets, nor are there any sago-beaters whereas most Inonda men possess both spears and sago-beaters. The greater number of *tapa* cloths in Sivepe is probably related to its greater distance from Popondetta, and so to the general level of acculturation. This likewise accounts for

Another 30 per cent of the time is devoted to traditional
535 dancing at events inspired by the external agencies, in particular
177 church festivals and public holidays; 18 per cent is devoted to what
might be called 'institutionalised parties', for example, the
[527] celebration of a church wedding or the opening of a women's club,
again events associated with the contact situation; and a mere 14
[178] per cent is devoted to feasting of a traditional nature, such a
practice now apparently being relegated to a minor place in Orokaiva
society.

All ceremonial events tend to be concentrated around Christmas when the gardens are in full production, and involving at that time as much as 6.2 hours per man-week in a single week (week 1).

461 (b) The external sector

All commercial production, together with those activities directly
177 associated with the presence of the external agencies (for example, church services, formal meetings, etc.), fall within the external sector of the economy. Together they account for 10.6 hours per man-week, of which only 3.2 hours (spent in cash cropping and paid work) are concerned directly with the acquisition of cash.[1]

(i) Cash cropping. Most of the time spent in cash cropping is devoted to coffee production - 1.3 hours per man-week - although only five households are directly involved in it. The buying season is determined by the OCGS to coincide with the flush and extends
[221] from March to October. There is no off-season buying and coffee-producing activities are confined to this period, particularly the months of April through to July. Clearing of the gardens and any pruning are restricted to the start of the season to facilitate access to the trees. Most harvesting and processing is done early in the season, falling off gradually as stocks are accumulated, the main flush passes and the opportunity to sell is awaited.[2] While 1.9 hours per man-week were expended on coffee production for the whole of period I, virtually all activity was confined to the last six weeks when 4.2 hours were expended (2.0 hours on harvesting and the balance on processing). During period II only 0.5 hours were devoted to production, with a further 0.5 hours to marketing per man-week.

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[1] However, a further 0.3 hours per man-week are spent in marketing subsistence crops and products. See p.88.

[2] This reduction in the level of activity might equally be related to the initial sale of coffee, disappointment at the price obtained resulting in a marked loss of enthusiasm. Further, during period II, the labour requirements of the subsistence sector increase as do the demands made by the external agencies, and these factors may also influence the level of coffee production.

461 [464] Although returns to labour from paid work are substantially less than from cash cropping,[1] medical work is popular among young people because of their participation in a group with common interests, while contract work, being more casual than most forms of paid work, enables most village activities to be pursued concurrently with it. An important consideration for the married person is that such work can be done while continuing to reside with one's family in the village.

512 177 [797] (iii) Other activities. Of activities associated with the external sector of the economy, it is the 'non-productive' which are the most time-consuming: 5.8 hours per man-week are devoted to the external agencies, 3.0 of them to the church. The proximity of Sivepe to an Anglican mission head station run by an expatriate largely accounts for this as church activities tend to be more highly organised and frequent than on an out-station, so much so that during the Easter church festival, 13.1 hours per man-week were absorbed by services (week 8). Similarly labour requirements, in terms of voluntary assistance in erecting and maintaining buildings, are far greater at a head station.

Church activities reached a peak during period II with the Feast of St Mary Magdelene, the visit of a bishop, and the reconstruction of school classrooms. During period III a marked decline was registered, largely due to the general resentment of the villagers at what they considered to be excessive demands placed on their time during the preceding dry season. It was felt these demands had conflicted with major village activities such as cash cropping and the increased urgency of the food quest at that time.

[797] Formal gatherings or meetings are a recurrent aspect of village life. Of the 1.3 hours per man-week spent at them, 42 per cent is in connection with the Administration - at census takings, court cases, etc. - and a further 26 per cent with women's organisations - the Administration-sponsored women's club and the mothers' union run by the Anglican mission. The balance of the time is divided between political, OCGS and Oro Ltd meetings and disputes within the village.

[466] [651] The local government council dictates that one day per week be spent on road maintenance and upkeep of the village area. It also requires that all adults present themselves, annually, for tax payments and that all births and deaths are registered. Altogether this council work amounts to 1.2 hours per man-week.

[432] While Sivepe is close to a number of trade stores, the people's limited requirements from them results in little time (0.4 hours per man-week) being spent in the purchase of goods.

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[1] For a detailed analysis of comparative returns to labour see pp.290, 292.

592 461 All three households devoting less than ten hours per man-week to subsistence gardening had at least one member in paid work at some stage, suggesting that this latter activity might interfere with basic village tasks.[1] By contrast, increasing involvement in cash cropping does not appear to affect subsistence gardening activities. Household 9, with the heaviest commitment to cash cropping, expended 16.2 hours per man-week on subsistence gardening, well above the average.

The four households most concerned with other subsistence food production (all above 3.8 hours per man-week) are all cash cropping households headed by people under the age of 44 years. Three of them have direct access to shotguns and, with ready cash to buy cartridges, are frequent hunters. Likewise such younger men take the initiative for making sago when food is scarce.

Householder 7 spent 27 per cent of his activity time in other subsistence activities, uniquely in house construction. Having recently arrived in Sivepe he not only had to build a house for his wife and himself but, wishing to ingratiate himself with his affinal kin, spent a substantial amount of time assisting others in their construction work.

[171] While virtually all households are involved in cash cropping the ones directly exploiting rubber and coffee are, as is to be expected, more heavily committed. Furthermore, the cash cropping households spend more time interacting with the external agencies and their involvement in the external economy is, in effect, broadly based.

With the exception of the old widower (6), the amount of time households devote to fulfilling social obligations varies little from the mean of 3.4 hours per man-week - all appear to be similarly involved in the network of social interaction.

There are, however, very substantial variations in the time spent on household tasks, the range being nil to 9.5 hours per man-week. These variations are a direct expression of differing age and sex compositions and the varying degrees of interdependence between households. So householders 6 and 7 are almost entirely dependent on others for the daily preparation of their food, while the greater time devoted by the cash cropping households (6.1 compared with 4.2 hours per man-week) is connected with the fact that the heads of such households are younger and have many dependent children.

In conclusion, where substantial deviations occur from the 'normal' activity patterns they are generally explicable in terms

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[1] However, paid work does not appear to conflict greatly with other subsistence food production, because of the more irregular nature of the activities.

512 461 The 7.5 hours spent by Linton in cash-producing activities far exceeds the sample average and the extent of his commercial interests is reflected in his household having the largest monetary assets of the eleven surveyed and the fourth highest cash income;[1] 3.1 hours were devoted to cash cropping, almost exclusively to coffee, and 4.4 hours to paid work. The latter, building the house for Saiho hospital, was confined entirely to period III and so outside the cash cropping season. He, and another member of the sample, had to provide all materials and on completion of the house would be paid $50; however, it was still unfinished at the end of the survey. Opportunities of this type often occur and in spite of the distance to Saiho and the need to supply their own building materials, the informal nature of the contract and being able to reside in the village throughout more than compensate and account for the popularity of the work, particularly outside the cash cropping season.

Linton's concern with cash producing activities is paralleled by his involvement with the external agencies. Over half of the 7.2 hours per week is spent at church services, in maintenance work on the mission station and in helping the Papuan priest with his food gardens. In fact, proportionately, Linton devotes no more time to productive tasks than the sample as a whole does although he was absent from the village on only 7.4 per cent of survey days, each occasion being of short duration.

[177] Palminus. Like Linton, Palminus is a married man with five children, all at or below school age. A confirmed cash cropper with the largest individual holding of coffee in the sample (246 trees), he is also one of the 'new' generation with a firm liking for non-traditional forms of entertainment, including gambling, guitar music, parties and alcohol. Aged 34 years, he received four years' schooling and has spent a further four and a half years in unskilled and semi-skilled employment in Port Moresby, Kerema and elsewhere in the Northern District.

With a mean activity week of 51.0 hours Palminus is only slightly less busy than Linton. The general pattern in which this time is allocated approximates that of the sample as a whole, with a consistently higher level of activity being recorded in most categories.

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[1] See Tables 4:5 and 10:10.

512 461 [273] Although without access to a shotgun, Palminus spends even more time in hunting than Liston (98 per cent of the 9.1 hours devoted to other subsistence food production). Guitar parties account for over half the time spent on social obligations and, while they normally appeal primarily to unattached youths, Palminus is attracted to them by the liquor (including beer, gin, rum and methylated spirits) often on sale.

The time spent in coffee production, 5.9 hours per week, is a particularly high figure when it is considered that this work was confined to little more than one-third of the total survey period. When, during the latter part of the dry season, Palminus had completed harvesting his own coffee he agreed to pick in the garden of a member of Seho clan. Although he did no paid work while resident in the village, over half of the 9.5 per cent of survey days on which he was absent was spent at Sangara constructing a house for a settler, with a view to receiving a cash payment for it at the end.

[562] [177] Gorukari. Gorukari is aged 32 years and a married woman with five children, all under the age of 12 years. The two eldest attend Sasembata school, one, a six year old, refuses to go, and the others are below school age, one being still at the breast. Although she received a few months' schooling at Sasembata, her experience of Western culture is slight and in this respect she is typical of the women. Her husband is not unlike Palminus in that he is industrious, interested in cash cropping but not a particularly influential person.

On account of the size of her family and age of her children, Gorukari has a heavy burden of basic subsistence gardening and household tasks and while her eldest daughter, aged 11 years, could be of considerable assistance, regular attendance at school prevents this. In addition, Gorukari's domestic obligations often extend to the care of her husband's father and mother plus two children who reside next door. The father is over 56 years and the mother only a little younger and both are frequently sick.[1]

With a mean activity week of 49.0 hours, 62 per cent of her time is spent on subsistence gardening and household tasks, taro gardening predominating in the former and cooking in the latter. This figure contrasts with the sample mean of 46 per cent of total

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[1] He was sick, or absent through sickness, on 30 per cent of potential survey days and she on 26 per cent.

and two walked over the Owen Stanleys to Port Moresby in search of work. Two of the 512
remaining three are still at school at Sasembata, leaving only Rodney Gill at home. The 461
fact that he has not already left probably reflects some latent sense of obligation towards
his parents.

After completing standard 4 at Sasembata, Rodney Gill went to stay with his married sister near Port Moresby for several months but he has never been employed outside the village. Nevertheless, he is frequently away for several weeks at a time, particularly at Sangara. Even during the survey period he was absent on 17.9 per cent of potential survey days, or 34 days in all. During 32 of these he was on an unbroken visit to Sangara assisting a settler construct a house, for which he received $8 and his keep.

Two months after returning to Sivepe he obtained work at Sasembata mission station, [464]
helping to erect new class-rooms for a salary of 80c per month. Disillusioned by the [465]
small wage he left after three months; nevertheless this work was the most important
category in his total activity pattern. Since his parents have no cash crops and Rodney
Gill has made no attempt to establish his own, the little cash cropping he does, 0.4 hours
per week, is confined to assisting his brother Cecil King with his coffee.

Rodney Gill spends only 32 per cent of his time on productive subsistence tasks, compared with the sample mean of 65 per cent, and his contribution to subsistence gardening
is particularly slight. Like other youths, he prefers to spend his time hunting and fishing, [883]
and for him other subsistence food production is the main subsistence activity. During the
survey Rodney Gill rebuilt, almost single-handed, the single men's house in which he sleeps
and also gave Cecil considerable assistance in rebuilding his house.

In general the productive tasks available in the village which appeal most to young 517
men are those which occur irregularly or which can be done on impulse, have an import- [461]
ant recreational aspect and have associated with them obvious shows of skill or strength.
Their most popular leisure pursuits are parties and dancing to guitars. Rodney Gill spends
more time fulfilling social obligations than any of the other individuals considered - 6.9
hours a week - yet 75 per cent of this was attending parties. Although most youths seldom [533]
have much money to spend on food and alcohol at these gatherings, the guitar music, [535]
singing and dancing pursued unrelentingly through the night appeal to them. Modelled as [177]
they are on expatriate festivities, and given an element of inter-village rivalry with [578]

517 [177] [578] competing guitar groups, parties also provide a means of making contact with the opposite sex.

512 [177] Apart from attendance at church services, meetings of all kinds attract the young men and account for 32 per cent of the time spent with the external agencies. Rodney Gill also frequently attends Sasembata clinic, undoubtedly being attracted by the young people working there. Finally, he spends the very substantial amount of 8.4 hours on other activities, 44 per cent on recreations such as football, and 47 per cent in rendering assistance of various kinds to the researcher.

512 461 In general, while Rodney Gill has an above average activity week, the way in which he allocates this time manifests a general lack of concern with or involvement in the village economy. His interest is largely confined to pursuits which have an important recreational value or where his participation is passive, as in church services or meetings. Such behaviour is not untypical of the young unmarried men and while it partly reflects their not yet having assumed adult responsibilities it is also associated with a sense of malaise with village life.

887 512 Umbahapa. Umbahapa is over 55 years of age and the oldest resident of Sivepe. Apart from age, his activities are further restricted by being a widower and partially lame in one leg. Although living alone and cultivating his own gardens, he depends to a great extent on a married daughter resident next door, particularly for his meals and for harvesting produce from his gardens; a younger sister, Linton's mother, also helps him. Without cash crops, and his non-traditional experience restricted to acting as a war-time carrier between Kokoda and the coast, Umbahapa is of necessity a member of the 'old' generation. He has no cash income and does not participate in any cash-producing activities.

Umbahapa's activity week comprises only 29.4 hours, his efforts being directed almost exclusively to the subsistence sector. Disregarding household tasks (since his daughter prepares most of his food for him), his productive efforts are possibly adequate to meet his food requirements, although none of his gardens were in production when surveyed. The large amount of time expended on clearing (6.3 hours) is probably explained by Umbahapa's labour being less productive than a younger person's. The total of 12.5 hours spent on subsistence gardening approximates to the sample mean although the distribution of this

433 184 [241] [222] population in the two villages, it is estimated that the total land requirements per person in Sivepe are therefore only 2.5 acres compared with 14.8 acres in Inonda.[1] Given the lack of uniformity in the hinterland of a village which is located at the forest-grassland boundary, where subsistence is primarily derived from the forest and where garden land requirements are high, it is to be expected that travelling times would be higher for Inonda and that the economy should be diversified by using the non-cultivated areas. There are abundant sago palms in the swamps fringing the rivers and, in the absence of breadfruit (numerous in the cultivated areas at Sivepe), these are exploited in the dry season to compensate for the scarcity of garden foods. In fact, Inonda experiences both a drier and more distinctly seasonal climate and this, together with the greater abundance of land, accounts for the greater significance of supplementary food producing activities. Only hunting is practised to much the same degree in the two villages.

461 The transfer of Inonda to a new site did not lead to the expenditure of substantially more time on construction than in Sivepe, where the normal rhythm of repair and rebuilding was in operation. Since it is estimated that in Sivepe 0.7 of the 1.6 hours per man-week spent on construction are restricted to repairs and minor extensions to existing houses it seems that in Inonda, with the transfer in village site, such maintenance work ceased and the labour time so made available was directed entirely to constructing new houses. In effect, therefore, such moves are not as time-consuming as might be expected.

● [m] The external sector of the economy absorbs 26 per cent of total activity time in Sivepe and 23 per cent in Inonda, but in both cases only about one-third of this is directed towards cash production. Rather more time is spent in dealings with the external agencies, particularly in Sivepe by virtue of its proximity to a mission station and location in a densely populated area which is more frequently the focus of Administration and commercial interests.

433 184 In Inonda paid work is considerably more important than cash cropping, but it is essentially of a casual and temporary nature

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[1] The estimation of land requirements is derived from the following formula (adapted from Allan 1949):

$$100 \frac{CL}{P}$$

where:

P = percentage of the group territory that is arable under the given technology.

C = number of annual garden areas utilised in the agricultural cycle of cultivation and regeneration.

L = acreage of cultivated land per head of population per annum.

561 the ones with the largest surplus of production above their immediate household needs. This pattern, in association with the particular roles of the oldest and youngest age groups, appears to support the widely held proposition of individuals building up 'credit' within the community to draw upon in their old age. The data might equally be interpreted as suggesting that most of the transactions are concerned with personal aggrandisement and only the middle age groups are capable of achieving this. Thus, in the exchange of labour services, there is a significant outflow from the 15 to 24 years age group and an inflow into the 55 years plus - that is, from a group where labour is the one abundant resource to another where it is scarce and needed to achieve subsistence - yet the 35 to 44 years group also registers a net inflow. Much of the labour received by the 55 years plus age group was connected with sago-making and this same group accounted for half the sago distributed. Since the individual concerned, within this age group, was unable to collect his own breadfruit and had no other way of reciprocating other gifts, offering one of his sago trees proved an effective way of settling his obligations and, at the same time, meeting his own dry season food requirements while expending little of his own labour.

[556] Each of the three other age groups plays an important role in the flow of specific resources. The 45 to 54 years group largely controls the movement of pigs, one of the main traditional indicators of wealth, but not of products associated with the monetary sector. These latter are divided differentially between the 35 to 44 and 25 to 34 years groups, the first being concerned primarily with cash cropping, from which its revenue is mostly derived and therefore its access to storebought goods, while the second relies heavily on remittances and parcels of goods from relatives in wage employment.

In effect the three middle age groups control the circulation of 'wealth', with that of the 25 to 34 years group being founded almost exclusively on non-traditional goods, that of the 45 to 54 years on traditional, and that of the 35 to 44 years encompassing the two where they are derived from agricultural endeavours (garden produce and cash crops).

The relationships between exchange and the socio-economic status of transacting partners

177 Within the total economic system, of which the subsistence villagers comprise the basic stratum, a number of distinct socio-economic categories can be identified with each playing a distinctive role in the pattern of exchanges. On the one hand there are the institutions or organisations associated with the expatriate community or directly promoted by them - the Administration, the OCGS, the Anglican mission, the trade store, the market, etc. - with which transactions are of a formal nature and operate between the individual villager and others in their roles as members of an institution. On the other

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Introduction

121 The New Guinea Research Unit of the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University invited the author to evaluate the cognitive ability of groups of subjects who were being studied as part of a larger project. These were the Orokaiva people of the Northern District of Papua. Other related studies in the area had been or were being carried out at Inonda (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963), Gona (Dakeyne 1965), Sivepe and Borugasusu (Rimoldi 1966a, b), Ongoho (Crocombe 1964), the ex-servicemen's settlement scheme (Cheetham 1963) and in expatriate plantations (Howlett 1965).

131 197 The Orokaiva live on the Popondetta plain and in the Mt Lamington foothills, and share mutually understandable languages. They have been described by Crocombe (1963) as follows:

> 105 [161] [619] [423] [614] The Orokaiva people number roughly 26,000 and are divided into about twelve tribes. The tribes are very loose units and recognise no single leader and before European contact, warfare within the tribe was not uncommon. ...there are no land rights at a tribal level. Each tribe is divided into a number of named clans. A clan is seldom localised, and usually it is divided into a number of sub-clans which are dispersed over various parts of the tribal territory. Each sub-clan holds rights over a specific area or areas of land.

177 795 There has been European contact of some form over a long period. The people are perhaps best known by the work of Williams (1928 and 1930) in which he describes the earlier cult movements and the attempts to master and control new contact situations. Two of these were the cult of the Baigona men and the Taro cult. The former was concerned with healing and sorcery through a type of priest who was in communication with the spirits of the dead and now resident in various reptiles, particularly the snake. The latter was evidenced in sorcery through a priest who was possessed with the spirit of the Taro. Violent dancing or ecstatic movements often accompanied by a trance were not unlike the dance of St Vitus or St John which swept Europe in the fourteenth century (Sargant 1957).

648 177 The initial Japanese occupation of Papua took place in the Northern District as the Japanese marched towards Port Moresby via

649 Kokoda. The invasion brought a much higher degree of cultural
177 contact and upheaval by both the occupation of the Japanese and
the counter-occupation by the Australian forces. Another dramatic
731 upheaval took place in 1951 when Mt Lamington erupted, killing some
4,000 Orokaivas and Europeans. This caused a mass evacuation from
the traditional home villages and the temporary settlement in
collective camps outside the declared contaminated area. The
temporary resettlement caused much friction (Keesing 1951).

797 Mission influence is strong in the Northern District. This is
provided almost exclusively by the Anglican church and is of a
fairly orthodox nature. Mission influence is mixed somewhat with
traditional beliefs and there is an air of mysticism about the
resultant religious system. Education is predominantly through a
871 system of mission schools, partly financed by the Government
975 Department of Education. The schools are staffed by both European
and Orokaiva teachers and use an approved syllabus. The teachers
are dedicated but often not substantially better educated than
their pupils. Many of the Papuan teachers are educated only to
Standard 4.

177 There is currently some covert aggression towards the European
settlers, some of whom reciprocate in a more overt manner. The
563 history of European contact has not always been happy. Frequent
misunderstanding and misinterpretation by both sides has led to
strained social relations in many cases. The initial settlement
of Europeans in the area resulted in bloodshed and ill-feeling.
Early miners and police both had cause to fear the Orokaiva. Later
government attempts to enforce cash cropping met strong resistance
in some areas. The Japanese invasion and its subsequent defeat led
to many confusing and bewildering Orokaiva deaths. Since the last
war there has been some improvement of the race relations - but
they are still basically seen in some type of dominance relation-
[797] ship, e.g., master - labourer, teacher - pupil, etc. The Anglican
church has ordained a few priests and in general has congenial
relations with the Orokaiva, yet this does not necessarily suggest
a closer empathy with or understanding of the people. The Orokaiva
regard some resident Europeans as welcome and fairly warmly received
and others as being unwelcome trespassers. More Europeans appear
to be in the latter category than is generally realized.

Like any enclave in a foreign country the European settlers attribute stereotyped characteristics of personality and temperament to particular local groups. This process of one group classifying another into psychological types provides a working basis for interaction. The Orokaiva were quickly allotted a stereotype and this came to be reinforced as the ascribed characteristics were searched for and found. The Orokaiva were classed as being 'surly', 'resentful', 'sulking', 'good policemen but need

177 563 to be kept under control'. Europeans now living in the Northern District tend to make such wide generalizations. They also tend to allot unique stereotypes to subgroups such as villages or tribes.

The process appears to be one of social spacing in a psychological field thus allowing relationship between broad groups to be defined and fixed. Such a process tends to cause less anxiety in social interaction. Instead of the necessity to formulate a new social relationship with each person, relationships are already defined and the task is simply to find which relationship is applicable. The tribal group is very convenient for this purpose. There exists a strong body of opinion concerning the Orokaiva and his nature, habits, ability and personality, though very little of this has been substantiated by scientific enquiry.

History of psychological testing in Papua-New Guinea

114 The first report of psychological research in Papua-New Guinea is that of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait Islands in 1898. The expedition, under A.C. Haddon, consisted of Sidney M. Ray (linguistics), Anthony Wilkins (archaeology and anthropology), C.S. Seligman (native medicine and disease) and three young psychologists each of whom was to achieve prominence: W.H.R. Rivers (who became Chairman of the Medical Section of the British Psychological Society), C.S. Myers (who became Director of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology) and William McDougall (later Professor of Psychology at Harvard University then Duke University). Volumes of reports were published intermittently from 1901 to 1935. The most relevant psychological material is found in the Introduction to Vol.I and in Vol.II, Parts I [illegible] II.

Rivers (1901) described the subjects investigated as:

> visual acuity and sensibility to light differences, colour vision, including testing for colour blindness, colour nomenclature, the thresholds for different colours, afterimages, contrast and the colour vision of the peripheral retina; binocular vision, line dividing; visual illusions, some of which were investigated quantitatively; acuity and range of hearing; discrimination of tone-differences; rhythm; smell and taste; tactile acuity and localisation; sensibility to pain; temperature spots; discrimination of weight and illusions of weight; reaction time and choice time, estimation of intervals of time; memory; mental fatigue and practice; muscular power and motor accuracy; drawing and writing; blood pressure changes under various conditions etc.

Table 1

The samples and agricultural systems

Village or group	Approximate population	Tribe	Type of terrain	Type of land tenure	Other research workers	Comments
Inonda	43	Sangara	inland plain	Higaturu Council scheme (low population density)	Crocombe and Hogbin	Supplemented by 10 from Hohota
Beporo (Gona)	500	Notu	coastal plain	Spontaneous resettlement	Dakeyne	
Sivepe	120	Sangara	inland hilly	Higaturu Council scheme (high population density)	Rimoldi	Supplemented by 3 from Pereko
Ex-servicemen settlers	150	various	inland plain	Individual proprietorship (with government loans for development)	Cheetham	From Isevene, Sangara and Girua
Plantation labourers	?	various	-	European plantations	Howlett	From Awala, Kagana and Mayoh
Ongoho	55	Asigi	inland plain	Communal tenure of cash crop land	Crocombe	
Borugasusu	180	Aiga	riverine	Traditional tenure	Rimoldi	

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121 153 From the results in the previous section two important facts are evident. Firstly, there is a difference in cognitive ability between the seven samples and, secondly, there is a definite relationship between productivity and cognitive ability.

153 The analysis in Table 6 indicates that the majority of the variation between the samples is caused by the high test scores of the Beporo sample and by the low test scores of the Ongoho sample. The Beporo sample has significantly higher test scores than any of the other samples and the Ongoho sample has significantly lower scores than any other sample except for the Sivepe sample. In the latter case, although there is a difference in the mean or average test score of 4.25, this fails to reach the required significance level and the variation within each of these samples is too large to warrant any conclusion that there is a fundamental difference, although there is a trend in this direction.

The only other difference that is significant is between the ex-servicemen settlers sample and the Sivepe sample. The difference in mean test scores here is 6.90. There are differences between the other samples but these do not reach the required level of significance to be certain that these differences are, in fact, real.

The question then arises as to why the Beporo sample is better than all the others and why the Ongoho sample is poorer than all the others except one. It is not within the scope of this paper [797 177 871] to discuss the possibilities that cause this effect. It is interesting to note that the village of Beporo is situated beside the Gona Mission which was established approximately sixty years ago. On the other hand, the Ongoho sample have had very little schooling and only one person had spent any time at school. There is an indication that education may have had some influence on the development of these people.

It had often been suggested to the author that people from Beporo were amongst the best workers in the district. The people from Ongoho, on the other hand, have experienced a long history of failures in attempts at communal cash cropping and other ventures. They have not established a clear reputation as they have not participated as fully in the plantation economy as many other villages.

Thus the Beporo people have a record of success and the Ongoho people one of failure. It is suggested that the ability to perform well in the plantation economy may be related not so much to particular opportunities but more to the cognitive ability of the people.

This is brought out more forcibly in the second finding, i.e., the relationship of higher productivity with higher test scores.

Introduction

474 178 Since the end of World War II there has been a rapid development of co-operative marketing and retailing and in some cases production amongst the indigenous people of Papua.

[121] [797] This paper describes the origin of the co-operative movement in the Northern District and its subsequent development and modification particularly as applied to Yega.[1] The Yega were one of the first groups to organize a producers' co-operative, under the guidance of the local Anglican Mission. The movement rapidly extended to other groups of Orokaiva.

The development of agricultural co-operatives

474 797 177 241 As early as 1940 the Reverend James Benson of the Anglican Mission at Gona had begun to preach the virtues of co-operation. Benson was imprisoned by the Japanese but returned to Gona in 1946. The first mention of any co-operative in the district comes as a brief entry in his diary on 6 October 1946, 'Foundation of Gona Public Trust' (G.P.T.). The functions of the G.P.T. are not clear beyond the fact that it was organized as a committee or board - entirely Papuan in composition, with Father Benson as advisor - aimed at investigating ways and means of improving standards of living.

474 241 One of the most dynamic and influential members of the G.P.T. committee was Samuel Ungega from Gombe village. He was a member

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128 [1] Acknowledgment is made to the following people who read this paper in draft and offered helpful criticism:
H.H. Jackman, Esq., Chief of Division (Business Training and Management), Department of Trade and Industry, Papua and New Guinea, formerly Registrar of Co-operative Societies (1960-2);
G. Morris, Esq., Kokopo, T.P.N.G., formerly Registrar of Co-operative Societies (1956-60);
Rev. J.L. Wardman, Mt Hawthorn, Western Australia, formerly Anglican missionary in charge at Gona (1953-61).

474 support, a peak number of 19 households being engaged during 1949.
241 In 1950-1 Samuel attended a nine month's training course in Port
Moresby at the invitation of the Administration Co-operative
Officer. Samuel attempted to ensure the continuity of his scheme
by appointing and training three men to oversee operations during
his absence. Two of the men chosen were Yega men with close affinal
ties with Samuel, the third was a Bapa man having only a remote
kinship link but particular ability. The scheme continued to function
smoothly during 1950. Samuel's plan was to grow annual cash
crops and to build up a reserve fund for the first few years, then
to undertake tree-cropping. He bought cocoa pods and had the seeds
planted in a nursery in January 1951. During his training period
Samuel made two trips to Gona to observe the progress of the co-
[731] operative. On the second of these visits he took his daughter to
the hospital at Higaturu and was among the 4000 killed when
Mt Lamington erupted on 21 January. After his death no more cash
crops were planted at Garara. No one knows what became of the
money received but none was ever distributed to members of the
Gombe Co-operative.

474 The mission-sponsored Christian co-operative embraced more
people and a much greater area than the Gombe Co-operative. The
241 Anglican Mission at Gona is responsible for an area that stretches
177 approximately 30 miles north and 15 miles south and extends in a
797 rough arc 5 to 10 miles inland. Little information was available
from the mission records, but it seemed likely that the Christian
co-operative, named the Gona Co-operative Society, was launched
during April or May 1947, that membership among the Yega was almost
universal (apart from the members of the Gombe Co-operative) and
that there was no fixed share payment, each adult male contributing
what he could afford. A large store was built.

[657] In September 1947 Mr John Millar, government officer in charge
of co-operative development in the Territory, visited Gona and
addressed a meeting of 500 people in the new store, explaining
the Administration's plans for co-operatives in the area. He
suggested that the present Gona Co-operative Society be split into
an association of eight smaller societies, each centred in its own
local community.[1] The meeting agreed and Mr Millar departed. The
committee assumed that theirs would be among the first co-operatives
to be registered when the necessary legislation had been passed and
this was the position when Father Benson departed on home leave at
the beginning of December 1947.

Mr Millar's advice was implemented after April 1948 by Rev. Alfred Clint who undertook to organize and co-ordinate the

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[1] The eight societies within the association were to be centred at Gona, Garara, Bakubari, Gombe, Soputa, Buna, Huhuru and Hamburata.

474 development of each of the small local co-operatives. These were
241 all organized along similar lines but the following description
applies specifically to the Gombe Co-operative which (to distin-
[177] guish it from Samuel Ungega's venture) was renamed the Yega
[797] Co-operative.

The executive committee of the co-operative consisted of five members: a chairman who was a well-known elder and later became the acknowledged leader of the Yega, a secretary who was a younger man of some education and in good standing with the mission authorities, and three young and energetic members, two of them ex-servicemen who had had some post-war agricultural training at
[666] Dogura. This committee was elected by a general meeting of Yega people. Its function was to decide which land to use, when to
[857] change areas of cultivation and when to work: co-operative work days were Tuesdays and Saturdays when all people (even school children on Saturdays) were supposed to work on the co-operative gardens. At certain times,such as harvesting,extra work was necessary. The committee made the decision when to call for such extra efforts. In addition, the committee appointed people to other set duties and supervised the performance of these duties. Such positions were:

i. jobmaster, who allocated work;

[451] ii. farm leaders, who kept farm records,[1] supervised sowing, harvesting and other technical aspects - these men had all had some agricultural training;

[407] iii. huller operator. A rice huller was acquired and installed at the western end of Beporo village;

[461] iv. toolkeepers and timekeepers. They kept tools in good repair, and rang the bell at 8 a.m. for staring work, at mid-day for prayers and at 5 p.m. for knocking off and prayers. Although people then lived in villages stretching along about three miles of coastline, and the only bell was in Beporo village, it was stated that in the early days of co-operative work most people were punctual; after the first year there was a gradual slackening in enthusiasm.

[451] The secretary kept a roll book in which the names of all workers were entered. Each work day he walked round the gardens and ticked off the names of those present. There was no attempt to discriminate between hard workers and slackers. The person who worked for one hour received the same credit for attendance as one who

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[1] Unfortunately no written records of the co-operative were located.

474 worked for eight. This became an important basis for resentment
241 and discontent among the workers.

The arrival of Rev. Clint in 1948 ushered in a period of
dynamic growth in the co-operative movement in the district. He
474 had a deep interest in co-operatives, and had been associated in
241 Australia with the Christian Socialist Movement. He was speci-
177 fically recruited by the mission to organize agricultural
co-operatives and within three weeks of his arrival he had held
797 meetings with the members of three of the co-operatives and had
discussed future development with the District Agricultural
[657] Officer, Mr Cockshott. In mid-May he commenced a weekly co-
operatives instruction class covering co-operative leadership,
[191] history of co-operatives, basic techniques, book-keeping and
English.

[782] Rev. Clint was insistent that Christian ritual be associated
with co-operative action. Educational and committee meetings
always closed with a special prayer, there were church services
at which tools were blessed and newly planted seed was blessed
[795] in the gardens. This aspect of the co-operative movement was
regarded with some apprehension by Administration officers who
[178] felt that it could be misunderstood by the Papuans and possibly
lead to the development of a cargo cult. There was some evidence
to suggest that a cult did in fact begin. Money was collected
surreptitiously (its disposal was never explained), and in the
opinions of some observers there was a belief among some partic-
ipants that the mere formation of co-operatives and the routine
performance of the work required would magically raise the Papuans
in a short time to the status of Europeans. On the other hand,
there was evidence to support the view that the people in their
desire to improve their economic position saw co-operatives as
the channel and adopted the idea wholeheartedly. There is
something of both these views in the statement of the ex-chairman,
who said: 'We wanted to be like other civilized countries and earn
money by working together.'

In November 1948 there were 25 acres under dry rice at Gona No.1, and 10 acres under taro, 6 acres of rice and one acre of peanuts at Gona No.2. Similar areas were under crop at the other co-operatives. The first harvest in early 1949 appears to have been a success. On his return from leave in March 1949, Rev. Benson spoke of 'barns and storehouses bursting with rice, people happily busy...true comradeship and Christian co-operation'.

474 In August 1949 the first four co-operatives in the Territory
241 were registered.[1] They were, in order: Yega, Gona, Garara and

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657 [1] This registration was made under the terms of draft legislation. It
was not confirmed by the Registrar of Co-operatives under the finally
approved legislation, the Co-operative Societies Ordinance 1950.

474 Buna. The registering officer stated that 'the co-operative move-
241 ment in this district is the only one yet far enough advanced for
registration'.[1]
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About this time, discussions were held between Rev. Clint and
the local agricultural officers regarding the practicability of
474 planting tree crops - especially coffee and cocoa - as eventual
241 replacements for the annual crops then being grown. The problems
associated with the establishment of these tree crops were not
177 solved, however.[2] Had they been solved, a serious difference of
[797] opinion regarding policy would have been avoided. The divergence
of views was between Rev. Clint, who saw the production of rice by co-operative methods mainly as a way of improving the subsistence diet of the people, and the people themselves, who saw it as a way of earning money. As time went on, it appeared to the villagers that Rev. Clint's interests lay only in subsistence crops and their enthusiasm began to wane. Towards the end of 1949 Rev. Clint became ill and he had to return permanently to Australia in January 1950.

474 In Rev. Clint's view Christian co-operatives had 'grown naturally
241 out of the teachings of the Christian faith' (Clint 1950). Unfor-
177 tunately he did not recognize that material considerations weighed
at least as heavily as spiritual values in the minds of the people
433 among whom he was working. The people had readily accepted a departure from the traditional practices of land tenure, an entirely different system of work organization; and the cultivation of a new crop, rice, which involved radical changes in their gardening techniques. The Yega, anticipating a substantial cash income, had welcomed these changes, but soon discovered that rice could not be converted readily to cash. There was no possibility of rice being grown in sufficient quantity in any one locality (for reasons of land availability and manpower) to justify the establishment of central milling facilities, and inadequate transport facilities prevented combination with other areas, even had these existed at that time. Without central milling, which would have produced a brown rice, properly dried, and saleable to the Administration and plantations, the only means of converting 'paddy' rice into a storable product was to use smaller semi-portable mills to produce
243 white or polished rice. The milling, however, whilst converting

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[1] Quoted in the Gona Anglican Mission Diary.

[2] Specifically, lack of knowledge of the soils in the area, lack of any experimental plantings, and a shortage of trained staff.

243 'paddy' to food, prevented the conversion of the food to cash,[1]
[262] though it was quite suitable for village consumption as a supple-
mentary food. In fact, imported white rice has now become an
important 'status' food at feasts.

474 Rice continued to be grown for about a year after Rev. Clint's
departure; small quantities were sold by the cupful but the income
241 received would have been negligible. In 1951 the crop was attacked
[242] by a species of 'army worm' and on the recommendation of the
District Agricultural Officer was destroyed. No further plantings
were made and all co-operative agricultural activity lapsed.

By 1952 co-operative agricultural activity had ceased among the Yega. The death of Samuel Ungega (the only man in the co-operative who had any training in co-operative work and the only man capable of directing activities on a long-term basis), removed from the Gombe co-operative the main driving force.

● [177] The basic reason for the failure of the Christian co-operative seems to have been that Rev. Clint's aim was to produce a storable food crop whereas the Yega wanted a cash crop. The scheme was established on an inadequate business basis and with insufficient understanding of the people's deep-seated desires.

The modern co-operative and the extent of Yega participation

474 A subsequent co-operative, organised by the Administration and
[241] known as the Gona Villages Native Society Limited, came into being
in May 1953. In that month share capital amounting to $2542 was
repaid by the Administration to 332 members of the old Gona, Gombe
(Iaga) and Garara co-operatives, most of whom immediately became
shareholders, at a uniform $10 per share, in the new society.
The new co-operative was to serve different purposes from the
earlier ventures. There was to be no attempt whatever at communal
[443] production. Functions were to provide marketing facilities for
the agricultural produce of individual members and to conduct a
retail trading store.

[347] Operations were begun in a store previously owned by A.H. Bunting Ltd on the Popondetta-Killerton Road, half a mile from Cape Killerton. Originally built from local materials and with a tin

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 64]

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[657] [1] Only brown unpolished rice is issued as rations to the Administration and plantation labour. The endosperm and much of the vitamin content are removed in the production of white rice, so that employers issuing white rice would have to supply additional vitamins, an uneconomic proposition.

474 many of whom moved their place of residence some three to five
443 miles inland from the coastal villages along the Gona-Popondetta
road during 1963-4, bringing them nearer to the larger Popondetta
[366] stores (see preceding article in this bulletin).

The rate of spending was remarkably constant throughout 1962 (the only year checked) except in December when 16 per cent of annual turnover was handled. Other months accounted for 6 per cent to 9 per cent of the annual turnover. The high figure for December was partly due to a shareholders' rebate being distributed on 12 December. Much of the money given in rebates was seen by the author to be immediately spent again in the store. Also, many men who worked outside the village returned for holidays at
[574] Christmas time with appreciable sums of money. Finally, the
[177] European custom of holding Christmas parties had been adopted by
the Yega, resulting in increased spending on food.

433 The Yega were still predominantly subsistence cultivators with
very limited financial resources. The co-operative store served
474 a useful purpose in providing them with easily preservable proteins
as well as a range of other foods, clothing, consumer goods, tools and domestic equipment.

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On the other hand, some feasts held today have no precise 574
traditional equivalent. These include those associated with
festivals of the local church; those to farewell or welcome home 178
children attending distant schools, migrant workers and others;
those to mark the opening of new churches, schools and medical
aid posts; and finally and most recently, feasts or 'parties' to
celebrate the birthdays of favoured children.

A birthday feast held in Inonda village in July 1962 illustrates 574
changes taking place in some of the social and economic values of
the community, and persistence in others. The celebration was held 561
to mark the birthdays of the two adopted children (actually the
illegitimate issue of two daughters) of a prominent local citizen,
a retired mission teacher. It was the first such party held in
this village, though similar parties had been held in neighbouring
villages. Several villagers mentioned that they intended holding
birthday parties for their first-born children. The idea was [177]
introduced by indigenous mission teachers who have attended birth-
day parties held by their European counterparts.

Few Orokaiva people are aware of the birth dates of their
children and those few who are derive some satisfaction from the
fact. In this instance, the children whose birthdays were being
celebrated were a boy aged nine and a girl aged one. The party
was said to be for both children, though 'mainly for the boy'.
Their actual birthdays were said to have been 18 and 22 June
respectively, but the feast was not held until the following
Saturday as several of the villagers and many of those invited
from outside the village work during the week as labourers for the
Public Works Department, for a local engineering contractor and
for local European planters. Almost all feasts and ceremonies
conducted in this village today are held on Saturdays.

The host (the adopted father of the children) is not engaged in 574
paid work and he and his wife, assisted by their three married
daughters, spent the two preceding days gathering food from the
gardens. Two of the daughters live in the same village as their
father and the other in a village about six miles away. As all
the host's male relatives in this village were employed at the
time, he sent for his brother's grandson, a single man in a village
about fifteen miles away, to come and assist. A small platform [343]
and a leaf shelter were built outside the host's house: the former
to serve food on and the latter as shade for the visitors.

Taro was the main food provided, and of an estimated total 574
contribution of 383 pounds, 128 pounds were brought by the host 431
and his wife, 105 pounds by their three married daughters, 70
pounds by two clanswomen of the host's wife, and 80 pounds by 602
three clanswomen of the host's eldest daughter's husband.

574 431 £2.90 by 16 relatives of the host's eldest daughter's husband (the one who had not been able to pay bride-wealth at the time of his marriage).[1] The latter 16 relatives came from four different villages. All but one of the total of 64 contributors of cash came from villages other than Inonda.

Contributors came from eight different localities within a range of 16 miles. There were also approximately 70 other adults who attended but did not eat or contribute. Some were from this village but the majority came from other villages in the vicinity. There were also some 30 or so children present who were not included above.

574 178 602 The majority of the persons present attended because of their residence in neighbouring communities and claimed no kinship links with the hosts. In earlier times, informants say, it would have been unusual for persons to attend a feast unless they were linked to the hosts by ties of kinship, marriage, or residence in the same village. Moreover, they claim, even in pre-war days it was unusual for persons from so far afield to attend a relatively small personal feast. Cash payment, it appears, is becoming an acceptable substitute for kinship links as a qualification to attend certain ceremonies.

574 178 431 Transfers of property at this feast differed markedly from those in feasts of the traditional type. Firstly, the food was contributed by a more restricted group, and was consumed not by all, but only by those who paid. Secondly, cash was given in place of traditional valuables (feather head-dresses, shells, arm-bands, necklaces, etc.); and thirdly, there was no reciprocal exchange for the whole of the cash was retained by the host who apparently does not acknowledge any obligation to give reciprocal help to those who brought cash, though he does recognise such an obligation to those who brought food.

574 292 In this village many of the older people wear only loin cloths made of tapa, but at the feast all but four men wore imported clothing. The four who did not were older men who remained in the shadows. A few men wore cotton lap-laps, but the majority wore short trousers. All but three wore shirts - an item of clothing that is rarely seen in the village. Quite a number wore plastic sandals, though the majority were barefooted. All the women wore cotton skirts and blouses, though in their daily work an in festivals of the traditional type they almost never wear any garment above the [302] [301] [177] waist. Four young men were daubed with face powder and one wore a spring of leaves in his hair. There were no other personal adornments. At taro festivals today, and at marriages, funerals and

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[1] See p.74.

other rites which are still based largely on traditional precedents, 574
tapa cloths, arm-bands, necklaces and head-dresses are *de rigeur*, 292
but informants stated that a birthday party was different, as it
was a European institution. 177

The language most frequently used was Pidgin as most of the 574
labourers came from various parts of New Guinea, but the local
people spoke between themselves in Orokaiva. Police Motu, the 191
official lingua franca of Papua, was heard quite frequently and 198
the notice about donations was written in that language. While
the non-Orokaiva people conversed freely in lingue franche, the
less prominent of the Orokaiva people kept largely to themselves.

The only indigenous musical instrument present was a single 574
drum, but it was not played. When asked why there were not more
drums, those present expressed mild contempt for them and explained 534
that there would be guitars. All the music, which continued almost
nonstop from dusk on Saturday until daylight Sunday, was provided
by six or eight guitars owned and played by the indentured labourers
present. There were no skilled guitarists, and the band merely 574
strummed a basic rhythm which changed little during the course of 533
the evening. The repertoire of songs was not extensive and most
were repeated many times. All of them were either popular Western
or modern Polynesian tunes, some sung to Pidgin words, other to
English words and a few to Orokaiva words.

Most of the young men danced, some of them almost constantly, 574
but very few knew any pattern of steps. The majority were attempting
to dance modern style Polynesian dancing which had been learned 535
indirectly from the Samoan, Cook Island and Tongan missionaries who [177]
served along the south coast of Papua (though not in the Orokaiva
area). The one man who could perform a particular Samoan men's
dance quite well had learned it directly from a Samoan missionary
several years ago. Some individuals tried to dance traditional
Orokaiva steps but were not particularly successful owing to the
foreign nature of the music. Several men from New Guinea attempted
ballroom dancing which they had seen performed by Europeans in New
Guinea, and in films.

Of a total of approximately 130 adults present, only about 20 574
were women. While the discrepancy was partly accounted for by the 562
number of male contract labourers, most of the relatives of the
hosts who attended were also men. Few of the settlers or other
visitors brought their wives (unless the latter had relatives at
Inonda). The cooking was done by a group of five women, while the
others remained in the shadows.

The music and entertainment were almost exclusively the prerogative [533]
of the men. No woman joined the band of guitarists and
singers at any time, and none attempted to dance until about 10 p.m. [535]

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Men dancing at the feast

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when three young single women joined in, though each danced separately and without appearing to take any notice of the men or to be noticed by them. Only three mixed couples were seen dancing during the whole evening, the partners in each case being real or classificatory siblings. They danced ballroom style, which the girls had seen when away at work as nurses and domestics. On some occasions two men danced together, but for the most part each man danced individually, following his own style and apparently oblivious to those around him. Traditionally, married women do not dance, though single women dance in supporting roles.

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It was clear that while music and dancing were based largely on a very limited conception of Polynesian patterns, dress and other behaviour was based on European models - even to the extent of several of the most prominent citizens handing out Rothman's king size filter cigarettes! Though traditional prohibitions (such as those against married women dancing) prevailed, there seemed to be a conscious effort not to behave as an Orokaiva, and some of the local people who did not participate explained that it was because they did not know how to dance in the modern style. Over all the men engaged in nontraditional activity much more than the women did.

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Shortly after daybreak a church service was held, breakfast was served, and the party was over. The remains of the food was distributed to those relatives who had contributed most food and those visitors who had given most cash. In former times, they said, feasts usually continued for two to five days, but today there is a tendency, particularly in areas where paid work is available, to get them over in a single night or week-end. 574

While the rationale for the party was the birthday of the two children, they were in fact conspicuous by their absence from any aspect of the celebrations, feasting or exchange. The changing modes of dancing, dress, entertainment and economic exchange showed a constant striving to acquire foreign behaviour patterns. The feast did serve to confirm the adoption of the children (which had not previously been formalized) and to affirm the bona fides of the son-in-law who had been unable to meet his bride-wealth obligations. But it appeared to me that the main motive of the promoter (a retired mission teacher whose prestige was considerable, but waning in his retirement, and whose status was marginal in a patrivirilocal society in which circumstances forced him to live in the village of two of his daughters' husbands) was to reaffirm his prestige and reinforce his stake in the village of his residence. [177] [597] [554]

Bibliography

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investment in the villages, for there is scope for an astute and influential individual to use them to accumulate cash which may subsequently be invested. On the other hand, an institution such as bride-wealth may be detrimental in that an individual may consider it pointless to earn more cash if a large proportion is to be used to assist kin in exchanges which do not benefit him directly. Also an individual may have difficulty in accumulating cash for investment if social pressures force him to contribute a high proportion of his cash income to non-commercial exchanges. 121

In addition we have no clear understanding of the degree to which and circumstances under which an individual's participation in ceremonial exchanges involving cash affords him access to the land, labour and capital resources of the group to which he belongs. Some indigenous entrepreneurs minimise their participation in these exchanges while others apparently attempt to use them to advantage.

The following description of an Orokaiva marriage and bride-wealth exchange does not contain sufficient information to allow generalizations about economic implications but may be a useful contribution to a comprehensive study of customary exchanges. The activities associated with the marriage involved people from several villages and hamlets as well as a nearby land settlement scheme. The events spread over approximately two and a half months culminating in the payment and distribution of the bride-wealth at the end of August 1962.

II

Traditionally, an Orokaiva man could acquire a wife by payment of bride-wealth; by exchange of a girl from his lineage, sub-clan or clan for another from an outside group; by elopement; or by capture (Williams 1930:130). When Europeans gained control of the Orokaiva area early in the century, marriage by capture, which had been common, was no longer possible. Since then, other aspects of marriage among the Orokaiva have changed. People may now move freely within the Orokaiva area and elsewhere, and consequently the range of villages from which an individual may choose a spouse is wider than in the pre-contact period. Furthermore, many marriages now take place at least partly in accordance with church practices. Missions[1] have failed to suppress exchanges of bride-wealth and it 583 583 177 [797]

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[1] The Anglican Mission has been operating in the area for over 50 years and has been the most influential evangelical institution there.

583 is still transferred in most marriages, including those which take
177 place in a church.

797 Polygyny was accepted but probably not frequent in traditional
Orokaiva society. In spite of mission opposition there are still
595 instances of polygyny but the great majority of marriages are
monogamous. Marriage outside the clan is considered preferable
614 but there are numerous cases of marriage within the clan. The
village is not considered an exogamous unit. Marriages are usually
582 patrilocal but this is not a definite rule (cf. Williams 1930:130-3).
[621]
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III

584 In this particular marriage the groom lived in Inonda, a village
of approximately 45 people about 11 miles from Popondetta.[1] His
was the only family of the Jegotumo lineage of the Andiriha clan in Inonda, although there were others at Hohota I and Kakendetta.[2] The groom was the eldest child by his father's first wife. His mother died several years before his marriage and his father remarried. The father died six weeks before the marriage payment described here took place.

The groom attended Anglican mission schools for eight years and reached Standard V. He was baptized in 1958. In 1960, when he was about 16, he left school to train as a medical orderly at a mission hospital at Embi about ten miles from Inonda. In 1962 he returned to his father's household in Inonda and was employed by the government for $3 per week to tend the ford where the road from Popondetta to Oro Bay crossed the Girua river. He also assisted with the production of coffee, from which the household earned approximately $16.00 annually, and with the household's food gardens.

The bride attended mission schools for four years and reached Standard III but was not baptized. Her father, who died during World War II, had been the head of Joremba'embo lineage and of the Andiriha sub-clan in Inonda as well as headman of that village. After her father's death the bride went with her mother, elder sister and brother to live with her mother's elder brother at Ajoro village about five miles away. In 1948 a parallel cousin of her father was demobilized from the army and married her mother, thereby becoming her adoptive father (to be referred to hereafter simply as her father). Subsequently she lived in his household in Inonda

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 86]

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[1] See map, p.84[A]

[2] See diagram, p.85[B] and Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:14-25.

A [See Category 102, p. 84--Analyst]

B [See Category 583, p. 85--Analyst]

CHAPTER 2 - LAND TENURE

619 The concept of the tribe as a group of related clans exists among some of the Orokaiva people, but among the Inonda villagers at least it seems to be only vaguely defined and to have [177] little if any relevance to land matters. The Andiriha and Jego'undi sub-clans are referred to in some reports as belonging to the Ihane'embo tribal group and although Inonda informants recognize some affinity with the other clans in this group, they say that the name Ihane'embo came into use only after European contact.

423 Land rights were found to be distributed at the following levels of social segmentation:

The rights of social units

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614 The sub-clan: All land investigated in and around Inonda was found to be associated with one or more sub-clans.(1) It is a common misconception on the part of outside observers that any particular piece of land can be associated with only one such group. This is certainly not the case in the Inonda area and from superficial enquiries it appears that the Inonda case is not unique.

Where more than one sub-clan claims rights in an area the rights of each are determined by two factors - the circumstance under which the original division of rights took place; and the temporal, demographic and social changes that have occurred since the original division of rights.

This may be illustrated by the Inonda situation where

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(1) Several atypical instances have been noted wherein rights are held by the clan as a whole rather than by a particular sub-clan. This may be exemplified by the case of the Amumba lands which are described on page 23.

614 423 425 764 [177] Other sub-clan rights include those to burial grounds and tracks. Once land is set aside and used as a burial ground it remains vested in the descent group even after it is no longer used for burial. Burial grounds may, however, be a post-contact innovation, for in the pre-contact era the dead were sometimes buried under the houses in which they had lived. In the case of tracks, however, the descent group which holds the surrounding land retains reversionary rights and in the event of the tracks being no longer used by the community they revert to the relevent descent group. There are two burial grounds at present in use in Inonda - one for Christians and the other for pagans. There are also old disused burial grounds adjacent to the sites of previous villages.

613 423 425 The lineage: The Andiriha sub-clan of Inonda is divided into four lineages but the Jego'undi sub-clan consists of a single lineage. After rights to the Inonda lands had been acquired from the Tandai'undi it was decided that the mountainous hunting lands would be held in common by the Inonda people, but the garden land, the grassland and at least some of the foothills were divided among the lineages. Some informants claim this was done almost immediately by the head of the joint sub-clans, but it seems unlikely that all the lands were divided at this time. All agree that some land was allocated at the time of the transfer, but some maintain that not all of it was and that identification with particular lineages in many cases followed later clearing.

While most lands are said to have remained with the lineage which originally cleared them, some have changed hands. For example, when the Andiriha people first came to settle in Inonda they obtained their seeds and planting shoots from the Jegotumo (an Andiriha lineage - not to be confused with Jego'undi sub-clan) which was then living in Hohota. The Jegotumo also assisted by providing one of the brides and some of the valuables for the payment which was made to the Tandai'undi, and thus acquired a right to the Inonda lands although they did not actually exert their rights at the time. Some years afterwards, however, when they felt that they were being subjected to sorcery in Hohota, they came over to live in Inonda and were granted rights to a

164 461 keep warm. As a consequence they slept much of the day following.

177 245 Non-traditional experience: Table 14 below shows that there is a correlation between non-traditional experience (in terms of years of paid work and education), and the planting of cash crops. Table 15 shows that there is likewise a correlation between years spent outside the village and the planting of cash crops. Absence from the village is generally but not invariably associated with work or schooling. The data presented in the tables suggest that an increase in non-traditional experience is associated with increased interest in cash cropping.

Table 14

Comparison of non-traditional experience (in terms of paid work and schooling) with planting of cash crops

Total years in paid work or school	Number of Coffee or Cocoa Trees	Code No. of Household Head
45	see note (a)	8
17	335	1
16	288	4
11	150	7
10	0	6
8	178	3
4	0	5
0	0	2

(a) This man is a stranger in the village, but he is currently planting extensive cocoa gardens in his village of origin.

M 245

Table 15

Comparison of years of absence from home village with planting of cash crops

Total years Absence from Village	Number of Coffee or Cocoa Trees	Code No. of Household Head
36	see note (a) in Table 14	8
7	288	4
5	335	1
5	178	3
5	0	6
4	150	7
4	0	5
0	0	2

554 245 There is also a close association between status in the village and the planting of cash crops. The three persons with highest status in the village are the previous head of the joint sub-clans who has now gone to the government resettlement scheme where he has planted more cash crops than any villager,(1) the subsequent head of the joint sub-clan who has most (335) coffee trees and the councillor (who is son of a former head of the sub-clan) who has the next most (288). It is clear (and supported by comparison with neighbouring villages) that those with highest status in the community are the ones most likely to plant cash crops or likely to plant most. Evidence elsewhere in the Pacific suggests that the man of influence is shifting his emphasis from traditional means of gaining prestige to modern ones based on the acquisition of money. It appears that this trend is taking place in the Popondetta area also.

121 157 It might be mentioned incidentally that Keesing (1951:5-14) considered the Orokaiva to be culturally predisposed to absorb the types of traumatic change of residence and social relations which were a consequence of extensive and persistent

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(1) He has planted 1,161 cocoa trees.

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warfare. He sees their personality attributes as being "congruent with the social structure that favours individuality and mobility". Reay (1953:111) states that Orokaiva men are encouraged to be highly individualistic. Superficially at least, these views would suggest that the Orokaiva would tend to be receptive to the changes currently being wrought by cash cropping and paid labour though, as Keesing points out, their reaction will be dependent on the monetary and other incentives which these activities provide.

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Extension services: McCarthy (1962:110) notes that the Orokaiva people "suffered at the hands of the Yodda valley goldseekers at the end of the nineteenth century and the severity of the magistrate Monckton at the beginning of the new century, and it is said that they have not forgiven either occasion." Subsequent contact experiences have not been such as to alter their attitudes very greatly, and this situation detracts from the effectiveness of the available extension services.

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No agricultural extension workers had visited Inonda during the twelve months preceding our visit and it is understood that extension patrols seldom call there more than once a year, and then only for brief visits. Several Inonda people attended a one-day extension class on coffee harvesting at Popondetta during our stay, but this was the only such class they had been aware of in that year. People can, of course, consult extension officers in Popondetta at any time, but as a result of language difficulties and social distance the Inonda people do not take advantage of this facility. The number of extension staff at present in the area is quite inadequate to serve the needs of a community which has only recently become aware of the techniques and potential of cash cropping. More extension services would probably result in extension of cash crop plantings, improved husbandry, and higher output. Pig production could also be expanded to the limits of the existing market.

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Transport and marketing: With the completion of the Girua road there will be all-weather road access to both Popondetta and the port of Oro Bay which is soon to be developed to handle overseas shipping. There is at present no commercial transport service to take produce to market and none of the villagers have transport of their own. The quantity of pro-

Four Orokaiva cash croppers

R.G. Crocombe

121 The four entrepreneurs dealt with in this paper have established
themselves by cash-cropping and have subsequently expanded into
retail trading. These brief case studies seek to identify some
of the factors which may facilitate the emergence of entrepreneurs
and some of the inhibiting factors that restrict their success and
future development. Where applicable, comparisons are made with
villagers of two Orokaiva villages previously studied: Inonda
(Crocombe and Hogbin 1963) and Sivepe (Rimoldi 1966).

Introduction

438 Before European contact there was some trading in ornaments,
lime, pottery and woodenware among the Orokaiva, but nobody sub-
sisted exclusively or even principally from their production or
marketing. With the advent of Europeans the Orokaiva became
177 familiar with the full-time entrepreneur who earned his living by
472 selling wares produced by others, by providing services such as
438 transport or the recruiting of labour, or by producing cash crops
using hired labour. There are few Europeans in private enterprise
in the area who do not engage in all three classes of enterprise.

The advent of the entrepreneur resulted in significant changes
in the Orokaiva way of life. New goods were made available and
opportunities for paid employment were created. During the past
472 two generations most Orokaiva men have had some direct contact
with commercial enterprise, both as customers and as employees,
438 but until recently few have had the capital or training to engage
in the entrepreneurial roles themselves.

Entrepreneurial activity (using the term to include trading and any regular income-earning activity which involves the employment of persons outside one's nuclear family) is a recent phenomenon among the Orokaiva.

101 Field work for this study was carried out in spare time during
114 1962-65, as a sideline to other studies, by the writer, assisted
by Mr Cromwell Burau and Mr Edric Eupu. Information was collected
126 on land and food gardens, cash crops, trading, processing, trans-
port, other property, income, work patterns and community leadership.

472 to the Northern District none has lived within a village community in the way almost all Orokaiva live today. Their houses are built on their farms adjacent to their cash crops rather than in a village. The farms of A and B are within half a mile of their villages but C's farm is two miles away, while D, occupying a resettlement block, is nearly a hundred miles from his home village. (There were no resettlement schemes closer at the time.) The first three men were joined in their new houses by relatives, in addition to their own nuclear families, who lived with, or adjacent to, them and assisted in the cash-cropping.

473 464 The four entrepreneurs had engaged in paid work for periods ranging from twelve to twenty-five years, with an average of seventeen. This is considerably longer than the average for village Orokaiva,[1] and the entrepreneurs have each been engaged in a much wider range of occupations than ordinary villagers.

472 The work experience of one of the successful entrepreneurs, B, had been mainly in cash-cropping activities, but the other three had had little such experience and none of them had any experience or training in retail trading. On the other hand, all four had [466] [463] held posts involving considerable responsibility over people and property.[2]

472 554 153 A factor which can only be a matter of conjecture at this stage, is that all four men appear to have drawn on the example of specific persons as models for their actions. Their aspirations to higher consumption standards, better housing, motor vehicles, education for their children, etc., appear to be very similar to those of the village Orokaiva people with whom I have worked. The main difference seems to be that most village people regard these goals as largely unattainable by methods at present open to them and are still seeking a clearer 'way' or 'road' to prosperity, whereas the four entrepreneurs have seen their goals as attainable by drawing on the models known to them from personal experience.[3] This is not to suggest that they have clear-cut or well formulated plans for development, nor that they are familiar with the economics of

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[1] Household heads at Inonda had spent an average of ten years in paid employment (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963b:59) and at Sivepe six and a half years (Rimoldi 1966:82).

[2] Their positions have included cook, labour recruiter, charge over food and equipment stores, foreman of plantations, of a coffee factory and of an oil exploration team, and police sergeant.

[3] In all four cases the models were European, but in the case of [177] Numbuk of Erap (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963a:1) the model was a successful New Guinean entrepreneur.

Even those entrepreneurs who engaged relatives were not in
favour of doing so, and none hired unrelated members of the same 463
village. The traditional complex of relationships within the 472
village tends to undermine the authority of a local employer, and
this makes it difficult for entrepreneurs to enforce their orders. 466
Wherever possible, they hire workers whose contact with the village 464
in which the crop or store is located is minimal. They are usually 571
hired as short-term casual labour on cash crops and are rarely 602
employed in the stores. The employer-employee relationship has no [177]
traditional precedent and entrepreneurs try to follow their conception of a European model.

Table 11

No. of co-operating adult male kin

A	1	E	4	I	2
B	1	F	1	J	2
C	3	G	4	K	3
D	4	H	2	L	3
Average	2.25		2.75		2.5

Table 12

Labour engaged by entrepreneurs to help with cash crops

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Entrepreneur	Labour						
	Extended family or siblings			Non-relatives from same village	Non-relatives from difference village		
	No.	Period	Payment		No.	Period	Payment
A	-			-	1 1	1 month 2 months	$2/month and food - do -
B	-			-	-		
C	3	occasional	30c per week	-	-		
D	4	6 months establishing	food	-	-		
E	4	occasional	food and clothing	-	4	establishment	$4 per fortnight
F	-	previous casual help	food, etc.	-	-		
G	4	occasional	store goods, food and pigs	-	-		
H	-			-	1 1	1 month 3 months	$4 per month
I	2	occasional	food and clothing	-	-		
J	1	regular	food, no cash yet	-	-		
K	2	occasional	food, etc.	-	1	occasional	$1.50 per fortnight
L	2	short period	$2.50 per week	used to employ 3. Abandoned as unsatisfactory.	3	occasional	$2.50 per week

245 Individual planting of cocoa was tried next, with twenty-one
people planting between 20 and 1,300 trees each. The average
[435] plantation size per person was 318 trees. Pests and later the
sharp fall in world cocoa prices discouraged maintenance and most
of the cocoa trees have now been abandoned.[1] Ten people have each
planted between 200 and 560 coffee trees with moderate success.
In view of this history of setbacks and discouragements there is
added significance in the enthusiasm of the Ombi-Tara people for
tenure conversion.

__Origins of conversion__

●177 An Ombi man named Charles was instrumental in persuading the
464 people of the merits of conversion. He had attended the local
mission school for two years and, after a year as a medical orderly
at Saiho hospital, worked for eighteen months on a rubber plantation at Sogeri. Next he worked in Rabaul with two other Ombi men
for an oil company. At the end of his eighteen months' contract
the company returned him to Ombi. He had intended to return to
Rabaul to take up a $24 a week job he had been offered as a taxi
driver but was elected Local Government Councillor at Ombi-Tara
and held that position for seven years until 1963. He has worked
for eight months as a cook at the nearby Sangara ex-servicemen's
plantations, and had intended to apply for one of the Papuan
resettlement blocks at Sangara before he heard of the possibility
245 of establishing a tenure conversion scheme at Ombi-Tara. He planted
249 1,300 cocoa trees, 400 coffee trees and 300 bush rubber trees before
conversion was introduced, and had planted 661 of the new high
yielding rubber seedlings up to November 1965, well above the
village average.[2] He has been employed full time since October
1965 on road maintenance work near Ombi.

Conversion at Ombi-Tara began with a visit by a resourceful
242 Agricultural Officer (Mr D. Birmingham) in mid 1963. Noticing
249 Charles planting some bush rubber seedlings the officer asked
whether he might not prefer to plant some of the higher yielding
Malayan rubber seedlings which the Department of Agriculture would
supply at low cost. Charles agreed and recommended other villagers
to do likewise. The Ombi-Tara people agreed and a rubber nursery
was established close to Ombi village soon afterwards by the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 13]

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[1] The Ombi-Tara people's experience with cocoa demonstrates that
a sharp decrease in world commodity prices can affect progress in
developing countries not only by causing earnings of foreign
exchange to fall, but also by so disheartening village producers
that they cease production altogether.

[2] See p.32.A

A [See Category 245--Analyst]

242 Department of Agriculture. Clonal seedlings for the nursery were
249 obtained from Malaya and from the Agriculture Department's experi-
mental stations at Itikinumu and Bisianumu. Villagers can buy
[654] seedlings at 1 cent per stump.

While the seedlings were growing, several meetings were held in the two villages to discuss how the rubber should be planted. The suggestion of a communal plantation received little support, which is not surprising in view of the recent failure of the communal
[423] cocoa experiment. At these meetings the Agricultural Officer
suggested that each man might plant some of the new high yielding
[425] rubber on his own land. He was supported in this by Charles and
eventually the people asked for individual blocks of land. There appears to have been no opposition.

657 The history of conversion at Ombi-Tara admirably illustrates
Fisk's contention (1964:159) that the personality and character of
177 the administrators, officials, missionaries and other members of
654 the advanced sector involved are often as important to the success
of a planned programme of intervention in a subsistence economy as the composition of the programme itself. Although the Agricultural Officer has since left the country he is warmly remembered by the Ombi-Tara people. It is a tribute to his understanding and tact that most of the villagers consider conversion was their own idea.

The significant role played by Charles in gaining the approval of the Ombi-Tara people demonstrates the value when introducing innovations in a rural community of working through an influential member of that community. After studying the introduction of changes in techniques in a Victorian country area, Emery and Oeser concluded (1958:52-3) 'No matter how highly regarded he may be the District Agricultural Officer remains, sociologically speaking, an outsider' and has much greater effect if he works through a local leader. These findings are extremely relevant in Papua-New Guinea where the sociological gap between Agricultural Officer and farmer is far greater than in Victoria.

The new land system

657 The new land tenure arrangements were worked out by the villagers
and the Agricultural Officer during late 1963 and early 1964. It
423 was decided that 800 acres of the total area claimed by the two
[311] clans should be converted into forty blocks of twenty acres (see
the conversion plan on p.12). Most of the 800 acres was formerly covered with bush and appears to be of relatively uniform agricultural potential.

657 The unconverted land outside the scheme has not yet been surveyed
and estimates of its area vary from 2,000 to 4,500 acres. All
423 rights to land held by individuals before conversion have been
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Chapter 3

Motivations and expectations of the Ombi-Tara people

Desire for improved standards of living

185 177 The Ombi-Tara people aspire to what they consider to be a European way of life. They consider that by planting a new crop, rubber, under a new land system they may be able at last to realise their aspirations. The first response of 90 per cent of the block-holders interviewed to the question 'Why did you get a block?' was 'to get money'.[1]

In any formal or informal discussion concerning the reasons for wanting to grow cash crops or for being in favour of tenure conversion, the same points were mentioned repeatedly - the desire for a European house with an iron roof, clothing and food from the store. Some more ambitious men suggested that they hoped to establish trade stores or workshops, to buy vehicles, or less [241] specifically, 'to start a business like Europeans'.[2] At least 20 per cent of the villagers appear to consider the change from planting cocoa, coffee or food crops to planting rubber to be as significant as the innovation of conversion.[3] The villagers hope that rubber will produce substantially greater returns than they were receiving from their cocoa plantations.[4]

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[1] The methods of obtaining information are described on pp.1-2.A

[2] These replies tend to support Epstein's finding (1965:191) in New Britain that villagers often wish to copy not only European consumption patterns but European productive activities as well.

[3] Most people had had some prior experience with rubber, either through the Ombi-Tara bush rubber stands or the Sangara rubber plantations, but few had planted rubber as a cash crop.

[4] As Brookfield has pointed out (1958:24): 'It is quite wrong to suppose that the economic factor can be disregarded in native development. Native toleration of low returns is greater only in degree than that of established European plantations.'

A [See Category 128--Analyst]

423 had rights.[1] Conversion has caused a redistribution of land rights,
with some people losing and others gaining land. Several men who
311 claimed they had less land after conversion than before said that
361 twenty acres was ample for their needs and that they were pleased
829 to give up some land to help their co-villagers.

There are indications that conversion at Ombi-Tara has facilitated
657 co-operation between villagers who are planting cash crops.
423 Previously any man who wished to plant cash crops had to work with
182 little assistance, often in a relatively inaccessible area. Since
476 conversion has been introduced, the new road gives easy access to
all blocks and people are more easily able to help one another.

361 Paradoxically, conversion to individual holding of land appears
491 to have strengthened intervillage, interclan and interpersonal
co-operation and to have fostered a community spirit. Intervillage
657 co-operation is demonstrated by the establishment of a joint Ombi-Tara
423 bank account to purchase equipment for the bush rubber
processing unit, and by joint discussions on the nature of the
621 new tenure system. Interclan co-operation is seen in the leader
of the *Kuai* clan granting permission for the allocation of a block
182 on *Kuai* land to a man of *Mumu* clan. Interpersonal co-operation is
illustrated by the apparent willingness of large landholders to
give up all previously held land rights without receiving any
compensation, in order to enable all to take part equally in the
scheme.

657 The Ombi-Tara people are pleased and flattered that many people
visit and inspect the blocks. They heard that Ombi-Tara was mentioned
423 on the radio and are happy that others ('people all over
182 Papua-New Guinea') should know of their experiment. When two
186 Australian friends of mine paid a short visit to Ombi they were
asked with expectant pride if they had heard of the Ombi-Tara
scheme in Australia. The leader of the *Mumu* clan said, 'We want
Ombi-Tara to have a big name like England, Japan, Hong Kong, Rabaul
and Lae'.

Publicity and information

657 Most Ombi-Tara people (82 per cent) said that they first heard
of the possibility of converting land to holding under individual
423 title after the visit of the Agricultural Officer in late 1963.
177 No one reported hearing first about conversion through Local Government
Councils, from the Anglican Mission, on the radio or through

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[1] The then District Agricultural Officer considered consolidation of fragmented holdings to be one of the main benefits that would emerge at Yega, the first tenure conversion scheme in the Northern District (Belfield 1962:1-2).

657 the Yega tenure conversion scheme. An influential minority (18 per
423 cent), which included Charles, both clan leaders and the custodian
of the savings account, said that they had first heard of blocks
● 177 through the Sangara ex-servicemen's resettlement (not conversion)
scheme which is about twenty miles from Ombi.

Many of the Ombi-Tara people had at some time worked at Sangara clearing bush, planting seedlings or tapping rubber trees. Six of the seven men who said they had first heard of individual blocks from Sangara had worked there as had ten of the fifteen men who mentioned Sangara in answer to the more specific question 'have you heard of any other scheme where there are individual blocks?' (Nine people mentioned Yega in response to this question.)

Moreover, the European ex-servicemen at Sangara live a life
[185] which many Ombi-Tara people find attractive. Several people suggested that they would like to employ labourers and work less hard
[461] themselves, 'like the Europeans at Sangara'.

Four people reported that Administration and/or mission personnel had warned them that if they did not use their land 'properly', people from other places might come and take it. Russia, Japan, Indonesia and Hanuabada were the places mentioned. I am unable to determine how much weight the Ombi-Tara people placed on this factor in their decision to implement tenure conversion.

After two or three successful conversion schemes were introduced, the demand for tenure conversion spread rapidly throughout the Northern District. In February 1966 the District Commissioner wrote (Williams 1966:5): 'Far from having to sell the idea we have been somewhat embarrassed by the number of requests which have been received.'[1]

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[1] Similar experience has been reported from Kenya (see Healy 1961:77).

657 The five work on their blocks in the later afternoons and on week-
423 ends and their kinsmen help to clear their blocks while they are
476 absent on road maintenance work.

Some future problems

657 While the long-run consequences of current alterations in land
423 tenure are always difficult to foresee, some indications of future
177 difficulties at Ombi-Tara may be seen.

Rights to land. Although all individual land rights which existed before conversion in the 800 converted acres have been legally abolished, and all land outside the blocks is held communally,[1] this appears to have been understood and accepted by only a small minority. Each person interviewed was asked if he has any land apart from his block. Thirty-three of the Ombi-Tara people answered in the affirmative, and three more said that although they themselves do not have any land outside the converted area, other people do. Only four people said that they have no land outside the converted area, as all individual rights existing prior to conversion have been abolished and the land outside the blocks is held communally. These four include Charles, one of the clan leaders, and two men who are living on their blocks. There is a wide divergence between the few people who accept the new system of holding clan land worked out with the Agricultural Officer in late 1963 and early 1964, and the many who do not appear to fully
[614] understand or accept it. The majority appear to consider that clan land outside the converted area is held under customary tenure, which includes differential individual rights.

The situation is further complicated by the presumptive right of each person to extend his holding by clearing the bush behind his block without consulting the clan leader or other member of the clan. (This right is recognised by the villagers but is not valid in law.)

Several people indicated that they considered they owned the land behind their blocks in the same way as they owned the block, with the difference that the land behind the block had not yet been surveyed. This presumptive right appears likely to cause conflict whether the land outside the converted area is held under customary or communal tenure. It remains to be seen whether all previously existing rights to land will in fact be given up by the villagers, and if this does not occur, what sort of solution will eventually emerge.

At least three of the men absent from Ombi-Tara in outside wage employment have not been contacted since tenure conversion was

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[1] See p.14.[A]

A [See Category 423--Analyst]

657 initiated and hence are not party to the agreement to set aside 800
423 acres for individual holdings. Problems could arise if, on returning
home and finding all forty blocks occupied, they should refuse
177 to accede to the new arrangements. It also remains to be seen
whether the man of *Mumu* clan whose block is on *Kuai* land will be permitted to extend his holding beyond the present twenty acres. The leader of the *Kuai* clan suggested to us that this would be allowed.

Concepts of title. While everybody interviewed said that the blocks belong solely to individual blockholders it remains to be seen whether in future all people will be prepared to cede to the blockholders all rights which they previously held in the converted area.

There was considerable confusion concerning the exact time that the blocks became the property of individual holders. Most people considered that this occurred immediately after the application forms had been signed, while some thought it was as soon as survey had been completed and others thought it was after the blocks had been distributed. Nobody realised that the block did not legally become his until ninety days after the Land Titles Commission hearing.

No one understood the purpose of the Land Titles Commission hearing. A genealogy was prepared in the hope that this might be required by the Land Titles Commissioner. At the hearing, the Commissioner read out the names of the thirty-five applicants and asked each applicant to call out the number of his block. The Commissioner explained that he would send a list of the applicants' names to Port Moresby and after ninety days each man would get a *pas*[1] - the title document - saying the land was his.

After the hearing the Ombi-Tara people indicated in conversation that they thought the Commissioner had come to check that each man knew the number of his own block. They considered that the piece of paper which they would get merely confirmed that each man held his own block as he had done for the past seventeen months. This lack of understanding by the villagers of the true function of the Land Titles Commission hearing could be significant if objections to conversion were raised at the hearing.

657 Development of a market in land. The Administration hopes, by
converting land from customary tenure to holding under individual
423 registered title, to facilitate the development of a market in land.
425 This is essential to ensure that no person with agricultural ability
and initiative is deprived of land. It has been pointed out by

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[1] A neo-Melanesian word meaning 'letter'.

121 The need for credit at Ombi-Tara where rubber is being planted
may be less than at schemes where other crops are being promoted.[1]
452 Bauer (1948:318) stated that where tapping and processing of rubber
is done by family labour, 'many small-holders could almost be referred to as no-cost rather than low-cost producers'. The visiting World Bank mission suggested that credit could play an important part in securing local interest in planting rubber in consolidated areas, in organising group processing and marketing, and in providing scope for enterprising men to increase production (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development 1965:111).

It has been suggested both by the District Commissioner (Williams 1966:7) and by a former Agricultural Officer in the Northern District (Cheetham 1962:67-78) that it may be an appropriate time to reassess official credit policy, looking particularly at the criteria for providing credit to smallholders. Cheetham (1962:77) concluded: 'A farmer's ability to repay may be a better criterion on which to provide loan capital than the present notion of "credit-worthiness" in the sense of adequate tangible farm assets.'

Cash cropping and productivity

657 It is too soon to determine the effects tenure conversion will
have on cash cropping and productivity. However, even at this early
423 stage a few observations may be made. The acreage under cash crops
182 at Ombi-Tara has increased significantly since conversion. Before
conversion was introduced, 167 cocoa trees, 92 coffee trees and 19
[311] bush rubber trees were planted per adult male at Ombi-Tara.[2] In the
fourteen months after the villagers began planting high yielding
rubber on the converted blocks an average of 304 seedlings was
planted per adult male.

[434] There is no shortage of food or suitable agricultural land. Both
terrain and climate are favourable for growing rubber. There is easy
[464] access to Ombi-Tara from Popondetta. Villagers are able to earn money
to buy rubber seedlings from the Department of Agriculture by tapping
their bush rubber, by working on road maintenance, or by working for
wages on the Sangara ex-servicemen's plantations. The proximity of
the Sangara plantations and the existence of bush rubber stands at
Ombi-Tara provided villagers with experience in tapping and handling
[177] rubber. The Sangara plantations also serve to demonstrate a 'European
way of life' which many villagers find attractive and wish to emulate.

Tenure conversion appears to have contributed to the improved
[241] cash cropping performance mainly by reducing the labour inputs
required to establish cash crop gardens, thus increasing labour

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[1] For example, the processing of green leaf into tea requires substantial investment (Clayton 1961:623).

[2] Excluding the two 'outside' blockholders and a man from Tara who declined to be interviewed (see p.1).

482

[Housewife carrying garden produce and firewood back to her village, a distance of up to four miles. Her load, excluding baby, is about 100 pounds.]

INTRODUCTION

433 THE traditional economy of New Guinea
villages was radically different from our own.
Whilst our economy is based upon the produc-
tion of surplus goods which can be sold for
profit, thus providing capital which in turn
may be invested to produce greater profits,
the key note of the New Guinea economy was
433 self-sufficiency. Traditionally, the people of
New Guinea were subsistence cultivators plant-
241 ing their food crops in small clearings in the
[226] forests and supplementing this food supply by
fishing, by hunting the animals which live in
[224] the forests and on the grasslands and by gather-
[222] ing the edible produce of wild vegetation,
notably sago. Only the simplest implements
[412] were available: stone axes with which trees
could be laboriously felled or ring-barked;
[372] fire for burning-off the mass of felled timber,
vines, and leaves; and sharpened sticks with
which holes were made for planting seeds
and cuttings. In only a few limited areas, not-
ably the central highlands of the main island,
was there any attempt at digging or cultivating
the soil prior to planting; in most areas cut
tings or seeds were planted in holes made
directly in the cleared, ash-covered ground.
[128] The burned clearing thus made and used for
the growing of food crops is referred to in this
book as a swidden.

433 Such an economy, in which there was no
concept of saving and no profit motive, tended
241 to be resistant to change; innovation was un-
177 necessary. But with the coming of white men
possessing a superior technology, an important
[412] change occurred; steel axes, knives, and spades

[P.1-A]

433 241 172 [412] were introduced. The use of these tools has greatly lightened the work of the New Guinea gardener and substantially reduced the time needed to produce his vegetable foods. Thus time was available, when the incentive was supplied, to produce crops which could be sold for cash.

241 242 The introduction of new tools has not, however, had any marked effect upon the methods by which a New Guinea villager produces his food crops. Long ago he discovered by experience what agriculturalists have later discovered scientifically, that tropical soils when exposed to the sun and rain very rapidly lose their plant nutrient content (particularly nitrogen) and without the addition of fertilizer they will not sustain crop yields. In order then to make the most efficient use of cleared land, the villager plants his swidden with a variety of food crops, mainly tubers, which, maturing at different rates, help to maintain a constant food supply. Swiddens are usually abandoned after twelve to eighteen months and allowed to return to forest. Meanwhile new clearings are made and crops planted to ensure continuity. Forest is allowed to regenerate on old swidden sites for a period of five to twenty years depending on the population density and consequent pressure upon the land. Provided that the forest cover is left for about ten years between periods of cultivation, soil deterioration does
241 242 311 not usually occur. Under this system of land use, which can best be described as one of shifting-field agriculture, the average land requirement is a quarter of an acre per head per

[P.1-B)

241 year. Thus, over a ten-year land-rotation cycle,
242 approximately two and a half acres of land are
311 required to support one person.

The major change that has occurred in New
241 Guinea agriculture with the coming of white
433 men has been the introduction of cash crops.
When Europeans first arrived they found a
177 subsistence economy. Some trade was conduc-
[437] ted but it was almost entirely by barter and was confined in the main to items of ceremonial value, shell and feather ornaments and the like. The early administrators, both British and German, were faced with the problem of rapidly easing the financial burdens their colonies imposed on the mother countries. The only readily apparent way to do this was to encourage the production and export of copra, the dehydrated meat of mature coconuts which grew prolifically in all coastal areas. Accordingly villagers were encouraged to produce and sell copra to itinerant traders; this village or 'trade' copra was the mainstay of the colonial economy for many years until production from large scale plantations was built up. First coconuts, then rubber, coffee, and cocoa and latterly tea and pyrethrum were grown on plantations owned and managed by white men who directed gangs of indigenous labourers in the tedious tasks of keeping the jungle at bay and processing the crops. Since 1950, Administration policy has changed in favour of encouraging the production of tree crops by indigenous growers on small plots of village land or, in certain areas, on small plantations of ten to forty acres. This policy has brought into sharp focus the difference between our land ownership system and that of the New Guineans.

423 Flying over New Guinea and looking down on vast areas of trees or grassland, with no apparent occupants apart from an occasional village, one may be tempted to think that there is a great deal of vacant or unclaimed land. This would be erroneous. Some indigene claims rights to every square foot of land under 7,000 feet and to much of the higher land as well; in many areas the rights claimed by one man are disputed by several others.

The European concept of individual land ownership must be discarded when considering New Guinea custom. Similarly the phrase

[P.2-A)

602 Kinship groups are of major importance in
the functioning of village society in New
[619] Guinea. Every individual is a member not
only of a parish but also of groups of closer
[614] kin, a clan, and maybe a lineage. Lacking any
[613] system of payment in cash for services rendered,
602 the villager obtains the assistance of his
relatives for heavy work such as the felling of
464 big trees to make a swidden, dragging a canoe
476 log to the beach, or making a long seine fishing
net. Obligations thus incurred are met
either by reciprocating when asked or by
602 making a gift. The kinship group provides
social stability and in practice the pattern of
311 land use is frequently decided by the senior
241 members of the group. The planting of food
crops by any member, even on land to which
he does not control cultivation rights, causes
no concern because rights to temporary usage
may be easily granted, but the planting of
tree crops, which may remain in the ground
from thirty to eighty years, is a different matter.
Planting tree crops is tantamount to
alienating the land for at least a generation
and very often some members, at least, of the
kinship group object to such long-term use.
Even if they do agree to an individual member
planting tree crops, there is almost always
the assumption that he must share any profit
he makes with other members of the group.
Individuals who have planted cash crops under
these conditions generally become discouraged
when they see the fruits of their labours being
reaped by kinsmen who contribute little or
nothing towards production.

657 In its attempts to stimulate production of
423 cash crops by indigenes, the Administration
has approved a series of land tenure laws, the
177 last and most radical of which was passed in
1964 providing for the registration by indigenes
of individual freehold title to land: a
measure designed eventually to establish a
European system of land tenure throughout
the Territory. In the meantime, such measures,
[578] by pitting traditionally conservative
people against the products of modern Western
education, are a cause of internal conflict
within indigenous society.

632 The establishment of towns, unknown before
the coming of Europeans, has forced an
177 even more drastic adaptation than have the

[P.3-A)

632 changes in rural areas. For a man to leave his
village and go to work in the town means long
177 separation from his family and from his kin,
632 an experience unheard of in the past. Separa-
tion from his relatives means that he may be
464 facing dangerous risks from the sorcery of
602 foreigners in an unknown country. This is one
361 reason why migrant workers tend to live in
kin clusters in the towns. Unemployment, in-
[754] adequate living quarters, low wages, the necessity for paying in cash for all goods and services, and the obligation to send cash gifts to relatives in the villages, all add to the town dwellers' difficulties.

121 The three areas to be studied in this book are:

1. The north coast of Papua, near Popondetta, inhabited by the Yega people.
2. Central Bougainville, near Kieta, inhabited by the Nasioi people.
3. Port Moresby—two indigenous communities.

These three areas have been selected because they are all experiencing rapid change. Moreover, they are areas of actual or potentially great economic development. The stresses and strains put on the traditional way of life in such circumstances are particularly severe; study of such situations may help to give students a deeper appreciation of the problems faced by the people of New Guinea today.

Northern Papua and Central Bougainville are rural areas where the inhabitants have a primarily subsistence economy basically similar to that of their traditional culture, but modified by the innovations introduced by Europeans and latterly by their own educated younger members. There are, however, important differences which are summarised below.

133 *Topography.* Northern Papua is a gently-sloping, almost featureless plain, covered by rain forest interspersed with grassland, traversed by a few braided streams and many small creeks. Central Bougainville is mountainous with peaks up to 7,000 feet above sea level. Steep, tree-covered slopes, rocky outcrops, and rushing streams which rise rapidly after rain are typical features.

614 *Social.* The social structure of the Yega is localised patrilineal clans, sub-clans, and line-
613 ages, inhabiting a few square miles of land.

[P.3-B]

18: Dakeyne K-5 (1962-1964) 1969
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Yega

614 423 000 No male member of a Yega clan has any rights whatsoever to land outside the consolidated block of parish territory. All Nasioi, on the other hand, are members of widely dispersed matrilineal clans. Many of them, both men and women, have rights to cultivate land far from their village of residence. For a Nasioi, the focus of loyalty is not the clan as a whole but the small segment of it with which he (or she) is intimately associated, in the parish where he lives.

● 177 [245] 241 433 [1964] 000 The degree to which contact with Europeans has affected each group differs greatly. The Northern District of Papua where the Yega live is the scene of recent rapid development in cocoa planting by both Europeans on large plantations and by indigenes on small-holdings. The Yega are a relatively well-educated group of people but they have a record of failure in the production of cash crops. Many of the younger Yega have therefore left the parish territory to work for wages in skilled and semi-skilled jobs in the towns. Fewer Nasioi go to work in the towns but many have worked locally as plantation labourers. Recently copper has been discovered within their territory and now many men work for the mining company which offers higher

102 131

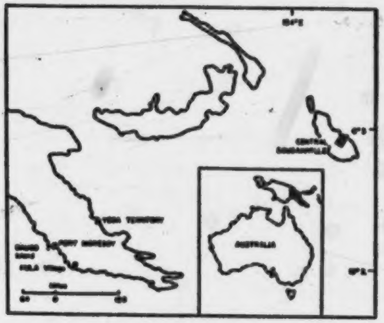

Fig. 1. Location of the three case studies

[P-4-A]

18: Dakeyne K-5 (1962-1964) 1969
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Yega

714
142

[A villager shows off the fighting head-dress of his father. It is intricately made of boar tusks, shells, feathers, and hornbill beaks.]

THE YEGA OF NORTHERN PAPUA

131 THE Yega is a group of nearly 900 people
361 living in sixteen settlements, on an area of
(161) about twelve square miles, on the north coast
of Papua. They live on a gently sloping
alluvial plain between Mt Lamington and the
sea. Yega territory is bounded by one large
stream and crossed by several small creeks.
137 The plain was originally covered by mature
rain forest 100-120 feet high, interspersed with
elongated strips of grassland. Now, much of
the original forest has been cut down, and
secondary forest forty to fifty feet high has
132 replaced it. The climate is hot and wet
throughout the year (Köppen Af.) but there
is marked seasonality of precipitation. The
north-west monsoon, November to April,
brings two-thirds of the annual rainfall
(average 100 inches per year); July and
August with about four inches per month are
relatively dry. The temperature is over 80°F
on most days and rarely falls below 70°F on
the coolest night, but the heat is alleviated by
north-easterly sea breezes which blow during
the afternoon and evening throughout the
year.

175 The first reported contact between Euro-
177 peans and Yega was during an expedition
along the coast by the Lt Governor of Papua,
797 Sir William McGregor, in 1893, but the first
real step in the process of change occurred
with the establishment of an Anglican mission
177 school on Waususu Point in 1909. From this
464 time until the outbreak of World War II,
Yega men began leaving their villages to work
466 [P-5-A]

177 for short periods as indentured labourers on
464 the newly-established European plantations or
[462] on the wharves of Port Moresby or Samarai.
Most men sampled the novelty for a short time
but quickly returned to the village; some
showed little interest in the wider life introduced
by the white men but a few were greatly
influenced and spent years away from home
in paid employment such as the Papuan Constabulary.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

101 The Yega constitute a social and political unit
and regard themselves as separate and distinct
197 from the similar groups around them, even
619 though all speak mutually understandable
dialects of the same language. Each of these
619 groups may therefore be termed a parish.
Before the enforced abandonment of warfare
early this century, these parishes lived in a
situation of constant enmity and changing
military alliances. In the absence of effective
natural barriers on the plain, each group concentrated
upon the production of its food
supplies as close as possible to its home villages;
tracts of forest which served as hunting
areas and as reservoirs of wild food and building
materials also served as 'no man's lands'
surrounding the territory of each parish group.
As hunting rights to these forest areas were
[423] obtained by daring individuals who ventured
[578] far into them, near the swidden areas of neighbouring
groups, it is not surprising that such
[657] [P.5-B]
[692]

241 is maintained today because, the Yega say,
423 it makes the work lighter if you have someone
613 to gossip with, and to share a watermelon or
a smoke during rest breaks. The effect is that,
at any one time, many people of a sub-clan
are using land to which they do not hold cul-
tivation rights.

241 The granting of temporary rights to plant
423 a food crop is normal procedure. A right-
[602] holder frequently grants such rights to affinal
[614] kin of a different clan or even to an affinal
kinsman from a neighbouring parish. An out-
sider granted such a right would *never* con-
[431] sider that he had any permanent right to Yega
[426] land. He would simply give the right-holder a
gift or, if asked, would lend land in return.

226 The Yega are coastal people and expert
[462] fishermen. Fishing is an exclusively male
occupation and fish have always been an
important food. Eleven reefs are known by
226 the Yega to exist off their strip of coast; rights
423 to fish over these reefs are held by the clans
614 whose ancestors first discovered them. Any
[431] person who catches fish over a reef belonging
to another clan must give a gift from his catch
to the right-holders. Fish are caught by many
different methods but the commonest nowa-
(177) days is by skin-diving with a home-made spear
gun and goggles made in Hong Kong.

SUBSISTENCE GARDENING

241 The Yega gardening routine is similar to the general procedure described earlier. The main features are universal inter-planting of a wide range of food plants and a shifting-field system which provides a continuous supply of fresh vegetable food. Some special features of Yega agriculture are worth noting. These are:

241 a) *The shifting-field cycle.* The average
242 length of the fallow period for twenty-one
swiddens investigated was 7·4 years. Such a figure is apt to be misleading. It tends to give the impression that New Guineans are much more organized than in fact they are. Some swiddens were fallowed for as little as two years . . . 'because my brother made his garden over there and I wanted to work near him!', while others had been left as long as thirteen years . . . 'because the soil isn't very good in this place.' Human factors as well as physical

[P-8-B]

361 The new village sites also reduced walking
time to the gardens.

648 The war of 1939-1945 affected the Yega in
several important ways. Their territory became
722 one of the major battlefields of the Pacific
War. Every person migrated from the area
with the exception of one old crippled woman
who somehow managed to survive for eighteen
648 months in the bush. Almost all able-bodied
men served in the army or labour corps and
701 the women and children lived at another
722 Anglican mission about thirty miles to the
north. When they returned, they found all
727 buildings, and any belongings that they had
left behind, destroyed and most of their coconut
palms cut down or damaged by gunfire.
There were some compensations. The Australian
727 Government paid thousands of dollars
657 in war-damage compensation for all trees and
property but, more important, the stimulus of
177 travel, and meeting and working with Australian
and American soldiers, gave the younger
men in particular a broader view of life
which triggered off changes in their traditional
economy. In addition, the transfer of the
177 Administrative headquarters from Buna to
491 Higaturu resulted in the construction of a
major road to the port of Cape Killerton and
brought the Yega into closer touch with the
outside world than ever before. As a result,
361 between 1945 and 1950, about twenty families
left their re-built villages and moved east to
166 found the new village of Surilai at Cape Killerton
(Fig. 9). Men living at Surilai have since
[464] found regular employment on the Government
wharf at Cape Killerton.

178 Major post-war changes in the Yega economy
have resulted from their attempts to
433 increase their cash earnings. Before the war
464 many men worked as indentured labourers on
plantations or on the wharves at Port Moresby
466 [P. 13-A] [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 14-B]

178 and Samarai. They were away from home for
433 two years at a time and were not accompanied
464 by their wives and children. Since the war they
466 have not returned to indentured labour but
have tried other ways of earning money.

The first such experiment was an agricul-
474 tural co-operative, originated by a returned
241 soldier who got the idea from one of his
wartime Australian friends. Anglican Mis-
[177] sionaries sponsored and directed the scheme
[797] and some money was made from cash crops
of sweet potatoes, peanuts, and rice. However, when the money was shared amongst all those participating, it was a very small return for the amount of work and there was widespread dissatisfaction. The scheme was finally doomed to failure by two events—the permanent return to Australia of the mission organiser in January 1950, and the death of the Yega leader in the Mt Lamington volcanic eruption in

[P.14-B]

474 January 1951. The failure of this scheme
emphasises the important role of the individual
241 leader in any innovation in New Guinea.

An important modification to the residential
474 pattern resulted from the Agricultural Cooperative.
177 Not only was co-operation practised
in the gardens but co-operative theory was
571 preached as a Christian ideal in the churches
and taught in the schools and training colleges
797 of the Anglican Mission. The teachers emphasised
the practical advantages of living in
a large community; for example, co-operative
labour could be easily organized, social clubs
could function more readily and school,
church, and hospital would be more readily
accessible to the majority. Most Yega accepted
361 this view and, during 1953, many of them rebuilt
177 their houses in a planned rectangular
village, Beporo, close to the mission station
(Figs. 4, 12). Here there was a tendency for the
361 household heads of each clan to group their
177 dwellings together and to maintain the same
inter-clan relationships as had existed in the
571 smaller villages. Nevertheless, there was a
614 breakdown in the previously tight social control
over the location of dwellings. Some men
602 exercised this freedom by building away from
their clansmen but near to their wives' kin and
in some instances even sharing a dwelling with
them.

Since 1960, seven new inland villages have
361 been established along the road leading from
Gona mission to the town of Popondetta. This
movement inland from the coast was initiated
361 by the development of a cocoa-planting project
245 which is without doubt the most significant
change in land use to have occurred yet.
(311) In 1960 the old wartime road between Gona
and Popondetta (actually the last stage of the
[491] Kokoda Trail) was re-opened by the efforts of
[799] the Anglican missionary living at Gona. It
gave access to land at Ononda which in the
opinion of the District Agricultural Officer
(DAO) was suitable for cocoa. As the Yega
245 had previously made enquiries about planting
654 cocoa, the DAO now advised them to clear a
large area of rain forest and plant their cocoa
in a continuous strip, which would then be
sub-divided into individual blocks, rather than
in the small scattered plots which is the usual
pattern of indigenous cash crop plantings.

[P. 15-A]

361 423 He has now cleared bush and planted gardens all round and claims, by right of usage, a much larger area than was originally allocated to him. The establishment of freehold title must reinforce dispersal, so it is significant that in August 1964 seventeen Yega cocoa-block holders were among the first people in New Guinea to apply for freehold title. The parish elders did not oppose these applications.

245 458 Yega expectations in cocoa plantings as a source of cash income have not been fulfilled. The trees began to bear in mid-1964, at a time when, unfortunately, the world market was [439] depressed. Growers received only three cents per pound for wet beans from a European-managed fermentary near Popondetta; by mid-1965 the price had fallen even lower, to two 245 433 cents per pound. The discouraging effect of such prices was reflected in the low production of cocoa during the latter half of 1966, when forty-eight growers produced only 1,866 pounds of wet beans valued at $74.64, an average of under $2 per head. By January 1967, the well-cared for plantations of 1964 looked overgrown and neglected and it was obvious that apathy had replaced the early enthusiasm.

245 178 The Yega cocoa-growing scheme outlined above well illustrates the conflicting traditional and modern socio-economic attitudes commonly found in New Guinea today. 245 178 423 464 [476] Traditional aspects are:

a) The use of communal labour to clear the rain forest and the subdivision of the area among those who helped.

b) The absence of any documentary record of the transference of cultivation rights to individuals.

c) The organization of group labour for certain tasks—individual right-holders to cocoa blocks were assisted by their kin in tasks such as cutting grass and opening the cocoa pods—and the subsequent obligation on the right-holder to repay such work by sharing his profits.

d) Personal control by each individual of the economic trees which he planted on his block.

245 177 Aspects which have little precedent in traditional custom but result rather from the acceptance of new principles are:

a) The systematic layout of blocks.

[P.16-A]

245
177 b) The production of crops specifically for
sale.

c) The acceptance by the indigenes of
[654] supervision and advice from European and
indigenous members of the Agriculture De-
[657] partment: people with whom they had no
kinship ties.

d) The location of houses on the blocks.

[423] e) The registration, by some individuals,
of freehold title.

245 It is unfortunate that the scheme which appeared so successful in its early stages should have failed largely because of circumstances outside of the people's control.

464 Many Yega have made no attempt to earn
cash from commercial agriculture. From the
[434] time of earliest contact with Europeans some
of them have left home to work for wages. At
[166] the present time, almost one third of them are
absent working, studying, or as dependents.
464 Forty-four per cent of all Yega men are away
working. Those who are married are accom-
178 panied in almost every instance by their wives
and children. This situation represents a
592 marked change from the pre-1940 years when
166 many Yega men worked as indentured or
casual labourers and could not take their de-
pendents with them. Nowadays most Yega
[466] work in semi-skilled or skilled occupations in
which family accommodation is often pro-
vided by employers. Even if accommodation is not supplied, the breadwinner's earnings are apparently adequate to provide living quarters for his wife and children; frequently town accommodation is of poor standard but evidently family life is preferred to separation.

871 The main factor in the marked improve-
ment in skills is education. The educational
178 opportunities which have been available to
the Yega for nearly fifty years have been exceptionally favourable, when compared with
those of most other New Guineans. A mission
[797] school has operated in the area since 1909;
since 1932 (except for war years) it has had at
least one European teacher permanently on
the staff. This educational background has
[464] enabled the younger generation of Yega men
to take advantage of opportunities for employment in posts of responsibility and higher income which have become available in increasing numbers during the post-war period.

[P16-B]

lines of 'A feels sorry for B'. As long as that sentiment prevails, the equivalence 121
rule is in abeyance. But it will become operative as soon as there is a quarrel.
Then, however, what B will have to pay is not the accumulated ledger. B will 437
have to pay, according to the model I have been using, *for the anger felt by A*.

It has already been often remarked, for instance by Williams in his work on the Orokaiva (1930), on the Kutubu (1976) and on primitive justice in general (1941), that in such societies one has to pay for anger, for slights, for psychological suffering, rather than for what is objectively on a ledger. If A becomes angry, he may use the ledger as his basis of claiming from B; he may just as easily demand vast compensation for 'insulting my sister', an item that does not appear on the ledger at all.

We thus face a paradox: there is an ideology of balanced exchange, but debts claimed are not necessarily those due by the rules of equivalence. By Sahlins's theory, the importance of the ledger increases with social distance. This may well be so, because social distance makes a great difference to the translation rules. In the cases where exchange is meticulously balanced in quantity—where one measured the height of the piles of taro—the translation rules usually specify that the exchanges serve to make peace, to assuage anger, to compensate for something unpleasant. From the semiotic viewpoint I am taking, it is they and not the social distance as material and mechanical fact that determine the importance of keeping a ledger.

There is a final point: balance is not only a matter of ledgers but also of equality. In an unbalanced relationship, there is a narrow line between A feeling 'sorry for B' and A feeling superior. If A should feel superior enough to B to slight him, then the anger caused by the slight would at once wipe out the ledger, at least among Orokaiva. There are peoples who more or less permit a creditor to slight a debtor. Those who do not permit it, like Orokaiva, feel some attachment for equivalence rules.

The scheme outlined here does not make a material and functional classification like Sahlins's unnecessary. On the contrary, such a classification is a necessary control on the kind of analysis here proposed. All that is claimed is that functional classifications should be made to pass through the grid of semiotic systems.

The anthropological task, with regard to reciprocity, does not however end at that point. For anthropology, this model of a closed semiotic system is a tool for resolving other, much broader questions which are best classed as
historical. The penetration of Australian capitalism has introduced a very 437
different concept of exchange, a kind of fusion of the balanced and negative
modes, destructive of Orokaiva social relations, but profitable economically. 177
The co-existence of the two systems in the same society has given to the Orokaiva exchange system an ideological weight it did not previously have, in that it began to stand for Orokaiva cultural identity as ideology, in opposition to capitalism as ideology. This polarisation had not begun in 1970, but it was strong in 1973, at least in the village of Kiorota.

Before the eruption, a new type of village had been established in the Kokoda 657
sub-district, consisting of a large village square of neatly clipped grass, with houses
arranged in a single row along three sides of it. Although such villages have a 361
monotonous regularity and lack of individual character, Europeans think of them [363]
as being æsthetically attractive, and they appeal to the administrative officer's
sense of the fitness of uniformity in a well-ordered community. Attempts to
introduce such villages in the Higaturu sub-district had largely failed, and the
standard of housing was much lower. Further the people of this area tended to
live in small clan-hamlets and resisted propaganda for them to come together into
larger village groups. After the eruption, however, the general desire for new things, 177
the sense of guilt at having resisted such innovations before, and a feeling of insecurity
combined to make most of the people reconsider their earlier decisions. Although
the move was not quite universal, by far the greater proportion of people decided to
rebuild their homes in large village units situated close to existing or proposed jeep
roads, and on administrative advice decided to follow the Kokoda village plan with
substantially improved housing. Such a move raises numerous social problems.

The actual decision as to who should live together in a village group was by and 621
large easy to make. Mr. Plant's enquiry, referred to earlier, showed that individual
patrilineal clans are often segments of a maximal lineage, the other segments of 613
which live in different areas, and this finding accords with Williams' material. But
in a given hamlet there would be two or more clans, not segments of the same
lineage; and a number of hamlets occupying neighbouring ground would be considered
together as a single village-group. Sometimes the village-groups were
combined as a large area-group. Thus we have the hamlets Pengipe, Isivita,
Huworituru and Bosiseta combining as Isivita No. 1 village; Egaturu, Tambori,
Koropata and Kiorata as Tambori village; and Kakita, Hamamuta, Pija and
Popondota as Popondota village; and the village-groups of Isivita No. 1, Tambori
and Popondota, together with separate hamlets of Barewaturu and Kombeturu
constitute the area-group of Isivita No. 1. Just how far these groupings result
from administrative practice we cannot tell, but it is fairly certain that they represent
genuinely-felt units. This does not, however, necessarily apply to the combination [619]
of the area-groups into tribal groups. Though the people we are considering appear [101]
to be one in language and custom, and to regard neighbouring groups as somewhat
different, they are vague as to an over-all group name. Williams calls this group the
Wasida tribe; Plant considers the correct name to be Periho. Although I think
Plant is more correct than Williams on this point, it seems to me that the people
themselves do not attach much importance to such a name.

The village-group was taken by the people as the new unit of residence. The 621
earlier hamlets would take a side or section of a side of the village square, each clan
building its houses contiguously. This meant that the residential group increased 361
in size from units of 20 to 100, to units of 125 to 400. Further, the village-groups 731
were much closer together, sometimes now being in sight of each other along the

discussion as to the best method of undertaking community development to meet the desires of these people. Such desires of course cannot be taken for granted, and indeed the pre-eruption history of the people led many to believe that the time is not appropriate. Certainly any grandiose schemes must wait until the people are relieved of pressing immediate worries. But at the same time there seems to be a genuine change of heart. It is true that this change of heart is accompanied by a feeling of guilt, as I have pointed out before. Yet it would be folly to ignore it. 657

I obtained many statements of the hopes of these people for the future. Some of them were clearly stimulated by experiences in the refugee camps. All of them contrasted their hopes for the future with their experiences of the past. Here are some that were given to me in the Popota, Hagenahambo area: 829 177

"Our lack of progress is the European's fault for not teaching us better." (This point of view was very much in the minority.)

"We get knowledge from school, but we are race people. The European taught us very well, but it is hard for us to learn because of our race. All people say there is one name in Papua, but some go their own way. Australians learn just the same but they are superior because they pull together."

"We want the white man to come and teach us, but no one teaches the Papuan very good. How can we give white people good food or furniture, because we're not taught properly? But this time the Government helps us with food. It is time for us now to try hard to learn. We want natives and white man like one family. We were very bad when the volcano blew up. But now we want to help. We want to give what we can and we want to start a new life for ourselves."

How do the people conceive of this new life? In the first place, it is to take place in a new environment, particularly with new villages and new roads as escape routes in case of a renewal of volcanic activity and as an outlet for produce. In the second place, it is to be related to the "Co-operative"; and this concept of the "Co-operative" requires a great deal of explanation. 657 474

Examination of files and interviews with the people show that the history of co-operation in the area covers the whole period following the expulsion of the Japanese[3]. It originally formed an extension of the Christian Co-operative Evangelist movement founded by the Anglican Mission, which appears to be successful in the Gona and other areas. The movement spread to the Kokoda sub-district, and to the intervening Periho group, by means of propagation by Mission teachers. Its first appearance in the Kokoda area caused some consternation in administrative circles, as the unauthorized collection of money always causes alarm. A most interesting report[4] was written by the Assistant District Officer, as a result of which

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[3] "In addition to the co-operatives, numerous native commercial activities were begun by the Administration before the war. These included the compulsory planting of rubber, the trees now being tapped under contract to a European planter, and the native-owned but Administration-managed coffee plantations, of which only Sangara has recently been worked." [654]

[4] Memo. Mr. Yeoman to District Officer September 7, 1949, "Co-operative Rumours Kokoda Sub-District." [113]

731 For survivors from the settlements actually destroyed by the
121 eruption, the loss of many relatives remains a cataclysmic memory,
feelingly recounted. But the fine points of organisation of the
resettlement camps are very much harder to recover.

In this preface, my main purpose is to explain my research
648 procedure. I should also, however, mention one or two general
facts as a background to my report. The British Protectorate of
New Guinea was proclaimed in 1884; the Territory of British New
Guinea was placed under the authority of the Commonwealth of
Australia in 1902. The effective conquest and pacification of the
Northern District in which the Orokaiva live, occurred between
1894 and, say, 1906. It was to some extent speeded up by the
presence of some gold miners who had to be protected and the road
from Buna to Kokoda was built towards the end of that period.
[799] After the first world war, Europeans set up rubber plantations on
a small scale; the Anglican Mission became established, especially
along the coast. The process of pacification was a somewhat
bloodthirsty event. If the Orokaiva are asked to state when they
discovered what they call the "new day," i.e. modern civilisation,
they refer neither to this conquest, nor to the events following
the eruption, but rather to the second world war and its aftermath.

648 The Japanese conquered most of the Northern District in
1942 and were driven back, in the beginning of 1943, by the
177 combined Australian and American forces which crossed the Owen
Stanley range and defeated the Japanese along the Kokoda trail.
Some Orokaiva collaborated with the Japanese and killed or betrayed
Europeans who were left behind in the district. When the allied
forces came, the Orokaiva were able for the first time to establish
really comradely relations with white men who, moreover, were
generous with gifts and left behind much valuable equipment. The
returning Australian government developed a new colonial policy
after the war eliminating the old use of compulsion and corporal
punishment while the Anglican Mission and later the government did
much to improve educational facilities. Access to trade goods on
a major scale began about that time. Training in the handling of
cash crops, notably coffee, also dates back to the immediate post-war period. The eruption, which occurred in 1951, certainly had
significant social consequences, but it is not easy to keep these
consequences, i.e., the modernisation that can be directly ascribed
to government measures arising out of the eruption, distinct from
the policy of social development that was being followed at this
time throughout the district.

With regard to the eruption, we must distinguish three
731 types of effect: first, a part of the district, notably that
occupied by the Sangara tribe, felt the direct blast and suffered
very heavy casualties, while all survivors were evacuated; secondly,
a part of the district, occupied by several tribes, was endangered

311 products, such as slow-growing trees, which are used for house
posts, drums, and other artifacts. A great deal of Sivepe land
423 is in young bush but this is fallowed garden land. After eight
years or so, it grows sizeable trees, and sometimes it is fallowed
for much longer. In this bush, many trees may be found that have
actually been planted by man and are owned by individuals.
Prominent among these are breadfruit, various nut trees, fruit
trees and trees with other specific uses. Some of these are
224 deliberately planted in bush. People go to the bush to collect
these, to forage and to hunt. Although hunting expeditions do
[222] occur periodically, and cause much excitement, they yield very
little meat. Not only is the area too small to contain much game,
[136] but also it appears that very few birds and no game apart from
small marsupials are actually still left. The same is true for
[411] the rivers which contain very little fish. I could not help
wondering, in fact, whether the meat collected was an adequate
[262] return for the number of cartridges used to kill it. Hunting
expeditions occurred only when there was a feast, and when the
offering of fresh meat to guests was especially desirable.
(Tinned meat might be cheaper than the cartridges but much less
esteemed.)

In this respect, the situation was very different in Inonda
311 where only a fraction of the land was used for gardening so that
almost all of it was hunting land. Most of this was in kunai
grass, which was very often burnt over. The effect of these burnings
was very often that good garden land also fell a victim to fire,
224 valuable trees were destroyed and villages endangered. The yield
in meat was much higher, however, so that in Inonda, meat actually
223 became an economic resource: it was sold on the market and used
as gifts in return for feathers and other valuables. There are
more birds at Inonda than at Sivepe, more marsupials and also a
good chance of an occasional wild pig. Neither at Sivepe nor at
Inonda is there evidence today of the use of traditional hunting
techniques, though traditional fishing techniques have survived.
[411] The decline in game and fish population is ascribed to the introduction
of guns and snorkels which greatly increased yields for
[293] some years, but then led to a greater scarcity than had ever been
known in the past. Guns and snorkels were introduced shortly after
[199] the second world war.

There are two kinds of domestic livestock: pigs and fowls.
231 The number of pigs has, as I already pointed out, declined greatly
in both villages. It was impossible to know how many pigs were
owned by Sivepe people in 1966-67, because they disappeared as the
old village became deserted and were never seen at all in the new
village. Rimoldi reports 24 pigs owned by his sample of 50 Sivepe
people alone which suggests that even in 1963, when he stayed
there, the whole village must have owned at least 60. During my
period of study, only a few of them were killed, and only when

276 from relatives who live in the mountain districts or else obtained
439 by barter, or bought from other villages or at the Popondetta
market.

Sago is made and eaten when other crops fail, but the plants
245 are also used as building material. As the supply of sago is very
[262] limited in both villages, the plants are highly prized. Inonda
people owned only 21 trees so that the bulk of supplies was obtained
from other areas, e.g., from wild sago trees over which they claim
rights. In Sivepe, the total supply is in the vicinity of,
probably, 300. This suffices for the local need, both as an
occasional supplementation of the food supply and for building, when
a great quantity is needed.

The special position of sago among economic trees was shown
[799] clearly in Miss White's description of the building of Sasembata
mission station shortly after the eruption. This was a big project
in which all the surrounding villages (including Sivepe) collaborated.
Labour was given free and so were all building materials--apart
from sago for which payment was expected and made. I was told by
informants this was because sago is a cultivated, not a bush tree.
During my field work period, the mission again needed sago roofing
for expansion and repair of buildings, but this time no payment
was made. However, each household was asked for a contribution of
only two strips of roofing. Thus, it was again treated as a
resource of special value as other materials were not supplied in
such strict rations.

The ajimo tree, used for manufacturing bark cloth was not
reported in Inonda by Crocombe and Hogbin but we did find a small
[287] quantity growing. Though bark cloth is only used for dancing
costumes nowadays, in both villages, these dances still take place
from time to time. The women's clubs have stimulated the production
of painted bark cloth for sale, but this has not led to extra
plantings. Sivepe's supply of ajimo trees was only one or two
for most households, sufficient for an occasional festive garment
with none to spare, but there was an abundance of ajimo in some
other villages in the Sasembata district. Here we may notice a
definite change between the pre-eruption period and the present
at pre-eruption Inonda and because at Pamba, bark cloth was still
the daily wear for everybody, so that the ajimo was an important
economic tree. With this exception, there would seem to have been
no change in the resources of economic trees of local origin.

241 The three introduced cash crops of significance in the two
villages have been rice (pre-eruption), coffee and rubber; in
177 both villages, one man grew a little cocoa. These industries,
which developed in intensive interaction with Australian authorities,
are perhaps better discussed in detail in a later chapter when these
[243] relationships are analysed. Rice plots were developed in the period
between the second world war and the eruption; the plots in both

241 villages had to be abandoned at the time of the eruption and rice
177 growing was never resumed. The growing of rubber by Orokaiva in
the Northern District has a long and somewhat unhappy history which
[243] will be referred to later; at the time of the eruption, just before
the Korean War drove up the prices, the rubber trees planted by
249 the Orokaiva were hardly harvested at all; Rimoldi reports that
311 in 1963 the existing stands at Sivepe were tapped to some extent
and the coagulum sold to a factory at Awala. There were six tappers
177 in his population sample of 50, who together earned $70 in one year.
[434] When I began my field work, the tapping had ceased as the factory
was no longer buying indigenously grown rubber, but a rubber
[479] cooperative was set up early in 1967, with the encouragement of
the Department of Agriculture, in a village about one mile from
Sivepe. The Department of Agriculture was also encouraging the
people to plant superior Malayan rubber trees and two men had
planted 250 and 72 trees respectively. Rimoldi reports that
"members of the clans now represented in Sivepe and Binduta"
owned four plots ranging from less than half an acre to about
three acres in area.

Since that time, however, a new plot has been established, four and one-half acres in size, on which theoretically seven men were to establish rubber stands. The Malayan trees were planted here, as well as self-sown trees from the other plots which were dug up and replanted. These plantings occurred shortly after Rimoldi left. If the new cooperative venture succeeds, it is likely that the new plot--most of which still remains unplanted--will be exploited, but people were clearly waiting to see whether sales at attractive prices would eventuate.

Orokaiva coffee plantations are wholly a post-eruption
245 development, inaugurated by the Agriculture Department shortly
177 after it was set up in Popondetta and greatly strengthened by the
311 setting up of a coffee cooperative, first under the Higaturu Local
Government Council and later independently. First plantings in
Sivepe were before 1954, in Inonda in 1955. Rimoldi reported that
in 1964, there were 1,100 coffee trees in Sivepe, owned by five
growers. Crocombe and Hogbin reported 801 trees in Inonda in
1962, owned by three households. Since that time, Inonda has not
added to its plantings, but Sivepe, along with the whole of the
Saiho Division, has greatly increased its cash-cropping activities
[434] since the 1964 census. The number of growers has increased from
five to 14--every able-bodied man in the vigor of life has his
coffee garden from which he derives an annual income of between
$50 and $100. This increase is the result of vigorous encouragement
of plantings by the Agriculture Department, a change of ideology
under the impact of the Local Government Councils and a great
improvement in the marketing arrangements. In 1966, Sivepe coffee
was collected and promptly paid for in Garombi village, about 15
minutes' walk from Sivepe. I did not take another coffee census

245 but would estimate plantings to be about 4,000 trees, occupying
177 an area of eight acres.

Among resources which produce significant current income in
311 Sivepe and Inonda, two other types must be briefly mentioned here,
though they must be more fully discussed elsewhere. Income is
434 earned by men who are normally resident in the villages. When
these men are married and living away from the village with their
167 families, they provide support to the home people on critical
occasions and also, when villagers pay visits to them. I briefly
met a few Sivepe men who settled in Port Moresby and these men
were called upon, during the year of my study, to pay several plane
fares and feed several men who tried their luck in looking for jobs
in Port Moresby.

Secondly, men who return to the village after outside
167 employment are bringing savings into the village which forms a
464 significant source of revenue. Such savings often form part of the
bride-wealth paid by clansmen and it is thus the affines who spend
[583] it. During the year, four Sivepe men went to Port Moresby for
employment and three returned; one Sivepe man took up a job on a
plantation for awhile, largely to pay overdue taxes; a number of
434 men ordinarily working outside came home for short visits. Probably
the most regular income is derived from absentees when the men go
837 out to work by themselves, leaving their wives and children behind
in the village. Six such split families existed in Sivepe; in
613 every case, regular envelopes containing money were posted to the
wife. In the cases I investigated, eight to ten envelopes arrived
in a year, each containing $10 and sometimes $20. These envelopes
represent a considerable percentage of village income. As long as
the money keeps coming, a man knows that his relations will closely
watch his wife and will carry out obligations towards his affines;
thus, his wife will be kept under strong moral constraint from all
sides. It would be cynical to explain the generosity with which
men maintain their wives wholly by such motives, but the Orokaiva
do regard "looking after" the wives of absentees as a valuable
service and the envelopes are thus a form of repayment. "Looking
after" the wife and children, indeed, comprises a wide range of
services which must be performed by men of the lineage and which
are a reasonable charge against the income of a wage earner. As
most places of employment in Papua-New Guinea do not provide for
married accommodation, we may regard villagers and migrants as
engaged in a joint economic enterprise in which each group performs
services and obtains benefits.

At the time of the eruption several Sivepe men were working
464 on plantations; today, Sivepe people are interested only in the
better-paid town jobs, mostly in Port Moresby. In Inonda, however,
two men often take up short spells of plantation work while a
third, trained as a driver by an anthropologist, has a regular
government job in Popondetta.

511 177 Capital goods, though few, should be briefly mentioned. Apart from a house and his clothing, the average man owns very little. The sum of his possessions make a very small pile: a bush knife and two or three implements, some kitchen utensils, a small box of feathers and ornaments, usually carefully locked, perhaps a few dollars of savings, and--in both Inonda and Sivepe--an interest in a coffee-hulling machine presented by an anthropologist. About half the people have a storm lantern; two Sivepe men had a pressure lamp, lit on weighty occasions only. With the exception of the valuables, these capital goods are innovations; at the time of the eruption people had far fewer, and these were mostly acquired after the second world war or from American soldiers.

433 Comparing the development of Sivepe and Inonda over the last 15 years, we note several significant differences in the exploitation of resources: Sivepe, but not Inonda, has rapidly expanded its coffee production in the 1960's; Sivepe but not Inonda is deriving a significant cash income from "looking after" the wives of migrants. I have referred to several other differences, but these seem to me the most significant, as they do not appear to me to follow directly from ecological differences.

CHAPTER III: Social Environment

Section 1: Opportunity for Contact with Outsiders

The experience of the eruption led to outside contacts that
731 would not otherwise have occurred. These outside contacts obviously
177 were among the basic causes of social changes arising out of the
eruption. In the present study, it is by no means easy to
distinguish between outside contacts which arose out of the eruption,
directly or indirectly, and those which existed prior to the
eruption or were the result of social changes unconnected with the
121 eruption. But before we can address ourselves to this substantive
question, it must first be clear what we shall mean by "outside
contacts." The term "outsiders" is used repeatedly in Professor
Barnett's specification of the variables to be included in the
comparative study. What, exactly, are outsiders? In order to
answer this question, I have to offer a few generalizations about
Orokaiva social structure for which the documentation cannot be
included here. A full treatment is given in my doctoral dissertation.

571 We may view the Orokaiva picture of his social universe as
a set of widening concentric circles: family, local clan group,
village, the clan within limits of kinship recognition, the
consanguineal group within limits of kinship recognition, a group
of contiguous friendly villages, the wider set of persons with
which an individual entertains institutionalized friendship links,
while beyond these limits we may discern even wider circles which
become evident in special circumstances. This is an entirely
619 ego-centred model. I saw no evidence of groups of villages which
displayed a true corporate unity. Thus village A would have close
628 relations with villages B and C, but village B would not have
similarly close bonds with A and C. More likely, villages B and
C would treat each other with marked reserve and B would have close
relations with A and D; C would have close relations with A and E.

571 Patrilineages were very shallow in genealogical depth.
Though the kinship structure would need to be classified as
613 predominantly patrilineal, I noted a strong consanguineal emphasis.
571 Bonds based on real or fictional siblingship, affinity, matrilineality,
institutionalized friendship and--above all--residence and an
uninterrupted flow of reciprocal transactions were stronger than
all but the closest patrilineal bonds. Though residence was
predominantly patri-virilocal, there were many non-agnates in
local groups sharing the same clan name; inheritance was not
necessarily in the patriline.

484 sophistication which is spreading to the villages. This was not
yet very evident in Sivepe, though I shall later quote a few
521 examples, but far more so in Hohorita.

633 All the Orokaiva, including the people of Sivepe, liked to
make occasional visits to Popondetta, even though they had little
business there. They saw relatives and exchanged news with people
they met around town, especially outside the Steamship Co. shop.
News filtered down about the mission, the administration, the coffee
factory and various current ideologies were communicated. The
Inonda men visited more frequently than the Sivepe men; the women
visited less frequently than the men.

I had little chance to observe relationships between Orokaiva
609 and Papuans and New Guineans from outside the Northern District,
619 except when these served in some official or mission capacity. The
only exception was the workers on European-owned plantations. I
observed one incident at Hohorita which seemed to me highly significant.
The Sangara plantation, which is very close to Hohorita, employs
many Chimbu; bad feeling between plantation workers and villagers
had been built up over some time, without any specific major issue
of conflict. This culminated in a fight on a major scale. The
Hohorita councillor went over to the plantation to make peace; the
discussion ended with an invitation to the Chimbu to come to a
feast at Hohorita. This feast was a success and was followed by a
return feast at the plantation. Thus the Chimbu were placed on
the same footing as other groups, at one time hostile, with whom
feasting relations had been established, e.g., Sivepe and Togahou.
Hohorita people whom I interviewed explained to me that when they
quarreled with the Chimbu, they did not really know them, but they
were friends now.

Section 6: Contacts With Indigenous Office-Bearers

Among the victims of the eruption were 143 Papuan administration
731 servants as well as 27 Papuan constabulary, who died at Higaturu
along with the 46 European civil servants stationed there. The
Mission was somewhat fortunate that Martyrs' School at Sangara was
still closed for the holidays; the pupils and some of the staff had
not yet returned. Even so only 11 Papuan mission teachers survived,
including the present Bishop of the Northern District Diocese,
George Ambo, the priest at Sasembata, Fr. Albert McLaren, and the
now retired mission teacher at Seva, later at Inonda, Moses Kuamale.

657 At the time of the eruption, a certain number of new roles
177 had already become firmly established among Papuans: member of the
Royal Papuan Constabulary, Village Constable, Mission Teacher,
647 Medical Orderly, Clerk, Labourer. Post-war government policy aimed
at greatly increasing the number and scope of these roles, both by

177 instituting numerous training programmes for the development of
657 skills hitherto unknown to Papuans, and by setting up organisations
in which Papuans wield a limited amount of political and administrative
647 responsibility. It suffices, for my present purpose, to enumerate
modern roles, performed by Papuans, with which the people of Sivepe
came into contact during the year of my field study.

[799] In the church, Papuans now play not only the role of mission teacher, but also of priest (as Fr. Albert McLaren) and Bishop (as the Most Rev. George Ambo). Fr. Albert was the priest of the local parish, while the Bishop paid one visit to the district during the year, namely for the consecration of the church at Duve, a great formal occasion attended by at least 1,000 people, from the whole of the Sasembata district.

[625] Village constables exist no longer, but their place has been taken by the Local Government Council. Two of the councillors were regular visitors at Sivepe; the sanitary inspector appointed by the council, who lived at Garombi, came even more frequently, while many Sivepe people had occasion, during the year, to visit the Council chambers at Higaturu, where all officials are Papuan, with the exception of one European who acts as Advisory Officer to the Council and also as Magistrate for Native Court cases. Locally we had an officer named "Committee," which meant that he was a member of a committee appointed by the local councillor to enforce council regulations in the villages. Each village has one committee member whose tasks are not unlike those of the village constable, though the concept of the role is rather different, and will be discussed below.

[759] While the only medical role allotted to Papuans at the time of the eruption was that of orderly, nowadays there are Papuan physicians, two of them in the Northern District. One of them is medical officer for the district and the other, a woman, is attached to the hospital at Saiho. An increasing number of Papuans are being trained as Assistant Medical Officer, a five-year course. One of the graduates was attached to the mission hospital and aid post at Sasembata. Aid posts have been established by the government in many Orokaiva villages and manned by aid post orderlies who were trained in the Saiho Aid Post Training School. Inonda village is served by an orderly trained under this scheme (stationed at Hohota, three miles away), but the training scheme has been discontinued in favour of a more efficient scheme. The training of Papuan nurses started in 1958 while nursing aide training has started more recently. In addition to general training, these nurses are given an intensive course in maternal and child health.

[875] The same movement into senior statuses was characteristic of Papuan educational personnel. First, the training given to mission teachers before the eruption was in the main ecclesiastical, while in the Northern District in 1966, 39% had been through at least one year of formal teacher training; a smaller number had obtained a

177 higher certificate after a two-year course, while various teacher
training programmes were involving a number of them. Furthermore,
657 the inspector in charge of the school and, after January, 1967, also
647 the District Inspector of Schools was a Papuan. Thus, in the Church
as well as in the Health and Education Department, Papuans were in
[895] actual administrative control over Northern District operations,
with white personnel nominally their subordinates. The term
"nominally" must be applied to the relative rank of Papuan controllers
and expatriate subordinates, because the latter are still receiving
a very much higher salary. Nonetheless, the new situation definitely
sets up a hierarchy, with Papuans at senior levels, and the village
people are in official contact with them.

I shall give two further examples of contacts with Papuan
[631] public servants. The first was with a clerk sent out by the
Department of Lands, whose task it was to organise the establishment
of boundaries between the wards. This man was an Orokaiva, from
Jegarata, who explained the purpose of the boundaries in the Orokaiva
language, at a meeting held in Garombi and supposedly attended by
all the villages in the ward. A spirited discussion took place,
the people suggested village representatives, the clerk accepted
the representatives proposed for Sivepe and Garombi, but was non-
committal over the other two, as he saw Isoge and Binduta were
[276] insufficiently represented. He chewed betelnut with the people;
the whole procedure was matter-of-fact and businesslike, and no
covering-up was attempted for the two ill-represented villages.
[191] The absence of an interpreter, the use of Orokaiva instead of the
lingua franca (Motu), the free use of betelnut, the fact that we
all sat on mats together--all this established an easy bridge
between government and people.

During the same period, a good deal of agricultural extension
242 work was in progress in the nearby village of Sasembata. Here
177 again, the day-to-day instruction was given by two Northern District
Papuans, agricultural assistants, in a rather more junior position
to the Lands Department clerk. These two young men were definitely
supervised by an expatriate officer; they were staying in Sasembata
village for awhile and came over to Sivepe one night for a small
feast and a dance. Though they were both Aiga, they mixed easily
with their Orokaiva agemates, on a basis of equality and familiarity.
They were the guests of a third agricultural assistant, who belonged
to Sasembata village but were working for the Department at Saiho.
This young man gave me a description of the scope of agricultural
development (a rubber cooperative) proceeding in Sasembata. He had
a mature and responsible understanding of the project.

Finally, Papuan government drivers had highly significant
657 though informal contacts with villagers. These men, highly skilled
647 at negotiating the difficult roads of the Northern District, have
the task of driving government personnel where they wish to go and
177 often travel unaccompanied by officers to collect personnel or cargo.

657 Employed rather widely over the last decade or so, they have a
647 responsible job, for which the qualifications include a reasonably
high standard of education. In Orokaiva eyes, these men enjoy high
177 status, as they have permanent, relatively highly paid positions
and above all, because they control one of the most coveted European
resources, namely motor transport. They very often have the power
[494] to offer transport to Orokaiva travellers; their favours are
eagerly sought; they carefully choose the men for whom they will
stop on the road: kinsmen, residents of closely related villages,
other men of high status.

Orokaiva accord high status to all Papuan employees of the government and the missions; one of the main reasons why men become, for instance, mission teachers is the high status they thus acquire in the villages where they are posted. This is so in spite of their very low pay; only recently has this low pay begun to deter recruits--due to the greater availability of higher-paid non-manual jobs for
[875] Papuans. Mission teachers at Sasembata still regard themselves as
aristocrats, who will speak somewhat deprecatingly of "the village people" and address them with some slight condescension. The best of them are most valuable as educators, not only in the religious sphere, but also through their knowledge of the outside world which they spread through their friendships with congenial villagers in the parish. They will also spread knowledge of elements of the culture of their own district, e.g., dances and songs, which are easily introduced into local repertoires. Most of the Sasembata mission teachers came from the Motu-speaking coastal district. One
[797] problem with the mission stations has been, especially on the
larger stations, that they develop into a sort of village of their own, a tight community with a deep conviction of its own superiority, not only because it is a mission village, but also because it is a Motu village and the Motu regard the Orokaiva as barbarians.

All the functionaries discussed so far are directly under the control of Australian institutions--the government and the church. The second category to be considered are Papuans playing roles for which they are elected or appointed by other Papuans. Within this category fall the members and officers of the Higaturu Local Government Council, the directors and manager of the coffee producers' cooperative, the local Member of the House of Assembly. None of these roles existed at the time of the eruption; they were created as part of the Australian policy, inaugurated in the 1950's, of preparing Papuans for at least local self-government and limited management of their own affairs. Though the views expressed by these officials hardly differed from those of the Government and Mission men, the Orokaiva received them much more warmly in their villages. Especially the councillors had to ingratiate themselves, their office being elective, and they handed cigarettes around. They were trusted far more than the government officials because the villagers felt they had some power over them; they were given local information withheld from the others.

657 Though most of the contacts between village people and the
office-bearers arise out of official roles, the local priest, the
647 assistant medical officer in charge of the Sasembata mission
177 hospital, the mission teachers, the council's sanitary officer and
others who lived near Sivepe, or temporarily stayed near Sivepe,
tended to have at least one or two families with whom they were on
mutual visiting terms and who regarded them as personal friends.
At the same time, their relationship with many of the other Sivepe
families remained definitely formal.

Contacts occurred almost always either in Sivepe or in a
village nearby, on the initiative of the office-bearer (if the contact
was official). Formal visits by councillors, sanitary inspector,
[797] coffee factory officers occurred about once monthly. Contacts with
Church personnel occurred almost daily at the mission station,
though formal calls by thepriest or a teacher to Sivepe were made
perhaps once a month, usually in connection with some quarrel that
[757] had arisen. The village was most active in its contacts with the
mission hospital, several patients presenting themselves daily with
minor ailments. Serious cases were often referred to Saiho hospital
[743] and most of the referred cases actually went to Saiho. There was a
[758] monthly visit from nurses dealing with infant health and expectant
mothers; most of the mothers took their babies to be checked and
weighed and no objections were made to preventive injections.

[582] There were no cases, in Sivepe, of inter-marriage between
local people and Papuans occupying these specialized roles, but in
Inonda one man married the mission teacher's daughter. Otherwise,
contacts of the type described in this section were sparser in
Inonda, as the mission and medical establishment was at Hohota,
[232] three miles away, and on a far smaller scale. Inonda did have some
direct contact with government over agricultural matters as one
man expressed interest in entering an experimental scheme for
growing beef cattle. He has adquate land and education, but the
scheme had not gone beyond initial discussions by the time I left.
[494] Finally, Inonda had an arrangement with a Papuan who was a distant
affine and who had a truck with which he took garden produce weekly
from Inouda to the Embi hospital. The village people paid this
man for his cartage. No comparable arrangement existed in Sivepe.
Finally, contact with the officers of the Local Government Council
seemed to me less frequent in Inonda than in Sivepe and to generate
much less interest. This was no doubt due to rivalries between the
village leader and the councillor, but also to a less keen interest
in council objectives on the part of the majority of families.

The contacts described in this section, unlike the ones
177 discussed earlier, do not characteristically occur in a kinship
context. Hence, the contacts do not necessarily occur equally with
all categories of members of the community, but when the problems
have to do with land or politics or the conduct of village affairs,
the married men are principally concerned; in educational matters

177 the children are principally concerned while some older people are still averse to contacts with medical personnel.

Section 7: Contacts With Chinese

563 439 At the time of the eruption there were, as far as I know, no Chinese in the Northern District. By 1966, five Chinese families had settled in Popondetta, all of them as traders. They had migrated from Rabaul and Lae, where they have trade connections. In the two years or so since their arrival, they developed considerable trade connections among the Papuans. I found that both at Sivepe and Inonda, people preferred to deal at the Chinese shops rather than at the two large established European concerns.

The main reason I was given for this preference was that the Chinese shops offered goods at lower prices. It was certainly true that these shops had a far greater range of low-priced clothing of the type Papuans like to buy. There were, however, other factors. When I had occasion to buy low-priced clothing of the favoured type, I found that the two European stores actually had some rather good stock and that the price was not actually higher. I even found that some lines were more expensive in some of the Chinese shops. This applied particularly to tinned food which the Papuans also bought.

The two European stores were certainly full of goods well beyond the means of the Papuans; when they traded there, they would have to be very careful to pick items of the right sort of price. The main trade of the European shops was with Europeans who put through relatively large orders usually on credit. The Papuan who went there with a few shillings to spend could not help but feel his economic inferiority. In one of the shops, I occasionally saw cartoons displayed which had a racist bias. In the Chinese stores, salesmen were exclusively Papuan and by no means gave preferential treatment to Europeans who went shopping there. Papuans felt much more at ease there. Furthermore, a Papuan who had a regular income or who was known to the owner and grew coffee, could get credit at the Chinese shops.

One of the Chinese stores introduced several new features
[245] in his business. He bought coffee from Orokaiva growers which he
[474] sent over to Lae for processing. His price was a little lower
than that of the coffee cooperative, but people sold coffee to him nevertheless. Sometimes, the reason was that the cooperative bought only once a month during a scheduled visit to each district, and people might wish to sell at other times. In other cases, the reason was that only members of the cooperative could sell to the cooperative and many small growers were not members (the entrance fee had risen to $16 by 1966). Furthermore, the coffee could be used to pay debts incurred with the Chinese store.

563 More important was the encouragement given by the Chinese
store to the development of Papuan-owned trade stores in the villages.
439 Village trade stores have existed in the Northern District for a
443 long time but traditionally they were built by planters who sought
extra income by selling trade goods to their employees and villagers
in the vicinity. The shopkeeper was a closely-supervised Papuan
on wages. In 1966, I counted some 20 of these stores between Inonda
and Sivepe. Fourteen of these were owned by various planters, but
the other six were of the new type promoted by the Chinese trader.
Here the owner of the store was Orokaiva and the Chinese supplied
trade goods and transport, if needed, at some extra cost.

During the year I was in the field, it became the ambition
of many villages to have their own trade store. In the Sasembata
[554] area alone, at least four new ones were started. The arguments in
favour of them were: that the village store might as well have
the profits instead of these all going to the Europeans; that one
would not need to walk so far to buy goods; that the village store
would sell goods at all hours, instead of only during the day. There
was a strong ideological motive as well, to be discussed later. The
stores were an avenue, above all, to greater power. Inonda was
served by a planter-owned trade store two miles from the village.

Hence, the role of the Chinese in the Northern District was a rather interesting one. It was they who opened to the Orokaiva the opportunity of trading. The Chinese, indeed, gave wholesale discounts to all these small shops and treated the traders without condescension. Every few weeks, the Chinese truck delivered supplies to the shops in the Sasembata area. It was then, too, that it collected coffee. The storekeepers also visited Popondetta to collect the supplies when they could, occasionally with the clandestine help of a government driver.

Section 8: Contact With the "Taupa"

In the previous sections I have sketched the network of
177 contacts characteristic of Sivepe village at the time of the eruption
366 and the present, and compared these with Inonda. The comparison
cannot usefully be carried too far, as Inonda is much closer to
368 Popondetta than Sivepe, while the small size of Inonda and its
longer distance from even a minor educational, and medical centre
and from a mission station introduces ecological elements reducing
cultural contact. A general difference between the two places,
resulting from these factors, is that the locale of contact for
the people of Sivepe is most often the village, or a place only a
mile or so from the village (the mission station, or Garombi, or
Sasembata village), the locale of contact for the Inonda people is
177 more often Popondetta. Another difference is that whereas Sivepe,
795

177 in its attitude to culture contact, is somewhat homogeneous, Inonda
795 is deeply split between a Christian and a Pagan faction, and it is
the Christian faction which is involved in coffee growing, the
cattle project, the government sponsored women's club and wage
labour whereas outside contacts for the pagan faction are truly
minimal.

The changes which have occurred in the pattern of outside
177 contacts in Sivepe between the eruption and the present all involved
181 changes in ideology. This is true for the pattern of inter-village
cooperation and the interaction with Papuan functionaries no less
[797] than for the trade-store movement. It is an ideology referred to
by the Orokaiva as "iji eha," "the new day" and it carries with
it an acceptance of Christianity, the objectives of the Local
Government Councils and the tenets of economic development. This
ideology is as readily expressed by the Christians of Inonda as
it is by the people of Sivepe.

Not only is this ideology of European origin, but the new
177 types of contact that are being made among Papuans can be traced
back, in almost every instance, to white man's actions. Generally,
the village man or woman has but a minimal direct contact with the
white man and such direct contact as does occur is liable to involve
a minimal communication of ideas. Because of the language barrier,
an interpreter is, at the very least, required as intermediary
[191] between white man and Orokaiva. Simple, direct communications can
be effectively made in Motu which most Orokaiva understand and which
many Europeans speak to some extent. Modern circumstances, however,
increasingly demand the communication of more complex messages than
can be transmitted by that medium, as used at present. More
commonly, Papuan members of formal organisations act as middlemen
for more complex messages.

It seems best to describe at the outset the pattern as I
observed it in Sivepe in 1966-7--the pattern in Inonda and other
villages was very similar--and then compare this to the pattern of
1951 and the rather untypical situation in the evacuation camps.
[101] All white men are known by the collective appellation and reference
term _taupa_, but the roles in which _taupa_ are truly familiar to the
Orokaiva are few. Most _taupa_ are government servants, traders,
missionaries, soldiers. In Sivepe the white government servants
most frequently encountered were: the patrol officer, the agricultural
officer, the magistrate, the advisory officer of the Higaturu
council; higher officials stationed in Popondetta were mostly known
by rumour. The head teacher of the local mission school and his
wife were both taupa; everyone was familiar with taupa planters and
storekeepers. An unusual and very highly respected taupa, indeed
a man to whom one never heard the term taupa applied, so well liked
was he, was the superintendent of the Saiho hospital who took part
in the Christmas dance at Saiho in Orokaiva costume, together with
his wife, and who was invited to village feasts at which he ate with

177 the people. He was the only white man in the district (omitting
the anthropologists) who actually did this. Finally, some people
[464] of Sasembata district were familiar with *taupa* as workers and in
personal service, as cookboys, housegirls, etc. outside the village.

The only *taupa* residents in the district were the head
[875] teacher and his wife; they had daily personal contact with village
people especially because they bought vegetable produce for the
[439] mission, while people also approached them with a multitude of
minor problems, e.g., pressure lamps that did not work, troubles at
school, help needed with sports or the sewing programme of the
women's club, etc. Most Sivepe men and nearly all the women were
too shy to approach them. The head teacher used the Papuan priest
as an intermediary when he had to approach Sivepe men when help
was needed for school buildings, or when land was needed for the
gardens of the mission teachers. The other *taupa* came to the
district no more often than once or twice a year; the doctor
attended patients only at Saiho; the magistrate sat at Higaturu;
the nearest white planter was at Awala.

657 Characteristically, contact between the taupa and villagers
occurs either through the mediation of Papuan functionaries--and
177 it is thus that basic ideas are mostly communicated to Orokaiva
leaders and groups--or directly, when taupa finds it inexpedient to
delegate decisions on problems affecting individuals. This tendency
[242] to deal with individuals rather than leaders or corporate groups
is self-evident from the roles of many taupa (educational, medical,
judicial) but I noticed it also in, for instance, agricultural
extension work. Here the emphasis was on the educating of individual
growers. The administration is not in favour of cooperative cash-cropping ventures, so that dealings are of necessity mostly with individuals. When it is desired to indoctrinate groups, the most useful channel at the present time is the Higaturu Council, so that the taupa's message reaches the people through an Orokaiva intermediary. The patrol officer, when visiting a village, for instance for census purposes, tends to deal with his audience in three types of ways: (a) he deals directly with the "committee" for the formal arrangements of calling the people together and to obtain what facilities he needs for his work; (b) he makes a speech expressing the desires of the government, to the assembled people; (c) he addresses individually those individuals against whom he has complaints, and he does this in front of the assembled people. These individuals, on the occasion I witnessed, received a reprimand, but they might also be arrested and jailed. This kind of meeting is held yearly in every village.

Undoubtedly, the patrol officer consults both with the councillor and the committee member in charge of the village. It was clear from his treatment of the complaints on his list that he had not only consulted, but also trusted these two local leaders. The cases with which he dealt were all connected with the policy of

657 177 closing up old isolated hamlets and moving the inhabitants to the larger, more modern-looking villages. The patrol officer's speech to the assembled people was intended to encourage increased cash-cropping activity. The patrol officer was young and not very well informed; some of the suggestions he made (e.g., that the people should busy themselves selling produce at the Saiho and Popondetta markets) were based on unrealistic assumptions about the lucrativeness and volume of trade at these markets, and provoked no more than an indulgent smile. As the patrol officers usually are young men of limited experience, the government is wise in depending, in its efforts to arouse enthusiasm for economic development, not on these officers but on the structure of the local government councils. Thus the most crucial European role, from the viewpoint of development, becomes the advisory officer to the council through whom development ideology must flow to the villages. In 1967, the government acknowledged the unusual significance of the work of these advisory officers by setting up a special training course for them with the School of Pacific Administration at Sydney. I did not have the opportunity to see the work of these trained officers, as none had graduated by the time I left.

In all matters the ultimate initiators of contacts were the Europeans who, after all, had set up the institutions for which their roles were required. Some of these institutions depended, however, for their survival on the voluntary support of the Orokaiva. This is true not only for the schools and churches, but also for the courts which depended on information laid by councillors and private aggrieved individuals. Similarly, the agricultural officer depended on people freely coming to him to ask for rubber trees, coffee trees, etc.

In some respects, the pattern of these contacts differs today from what it was in the early period of colonialisation. While a local government councillor reports infractions of council rules to a Native Court voluntarily, this voluntary principle did not exist before the local government and could be punished for not reporting infractions of the law. Rubber and coffee were planted, not voluntarily by individual but compulsorily, every village having the duty to plant a certain number of trees every year. It was only after the second world war that the government began systematically to seek from the Orokaiva not forced compliance but voluntary cooperation. Even today, it is not always easy to know whether contacts with Europeans are the result of choice or compulsion.

Let us take the case of two Sivepe men whose houses were not up to the standard of the rest of the village. In the end the "committee" forced them to build according to the rules. This man was motivated far more by pride in his village and desire to demonstrate his power than by fear of the government; nonetheless, he could secure compliance only by reporting the cases to the councillor and a threat to lay a complaint with the patrol officer. The ultimate sanction to which he appealed was thus a court conviction and jail sentence (no less!) impose by Australian authority. There was also the motivation that the patrol

657 177 officer, observing the offending houses, might charge the "committee" with dereliction of duty. This could not be taken lightly as some years earlier, in the days of the village constables, a negligent constable might find himself deposed and even jailed. (How frequently this actually happened I do not know, but the fear was still there.) The situation seems essentially ambiguous: willing cooperation and compulsion are both present.

177 609 As may be expected, contacts between Orokaiva and taupa are perceived totally differently by both parties. The European has two kinds of concept foreign to the Orokaiva, namely the concept of a formal organisation by which long-term fiduciary relationships can be established on an affectively neutral basis; and the concept of welfare objectives pursued by these organisations on the basis of universalistic values. The Orokaiva had no difficulty in trusting a European to fulfill fiduciary obligations if he had a close personal relationship with him, and likewise he would expect such a European to have an interest in his welfare, but as I have shown, such closeness was extremely rare in Sivepe. It was just unthinkable, to the Orokaiva, that an official casually visiting the village was truly interested in their welfare, because the Orokaiva could not see any reason why such an official should have such an interest. Clearly, the official was thought to come in the pursuit of his own, or his organisation's advantage. The patrol officer came to punish people who did not obey the law. I was told by informants that it did not greatly matter what one said to him as long as it stopped him from punishing people. The same was true, in one way or another, for most taupa, except some of those one knew well.

177 All men and women of Sivepe were asked what Europeans they knew or had known; the answers to this question were especially interesting because of the omissions. None of the persons listed in this section as being in contact with Sivepe people were ever mentioned--not even the head teacher and his wife. Anthropologists who had been in the village earlier were mentioned by many men and women, past employers were mentioned if the job was in the employer's home or if both employer and employee lived on the premises (e.g., in a hospital). The other contacts were left unmentioned, not because informants were uncooperative, but because these contacts did not fall within any of their categories of social intercourse. If I had asked specifically: "Has any European ever weighed your vegetables?", predictably some vegetable-weighers would have been listed, assuming that their names were remembered.

The relationships at Ilimo camp form a striking contrast to this general picture. This was obvious at once in the interviews as the name of, for instance, Mr. Kaad, is remembered by everybody, as are also a few other names, though less widely. There was hardly an informant who had been to Ilimo and who did not report, in one context or another, the activities of Mr. Kaad. Never once was he referred to in the accounts as "the taupa" or "the officer." When I interviewed Mr. Kaad in Sydney, he likewise felt that the kind of relationships between

177 Orokaiva and whites developed at Ilimo were rather unusual. He quoted other Europeans making remarks to him such as that the experience "drew us all much closer together." A planter who was helping the organisation and staying in the camp commented that the people came to talk to him far more often than before.

177 657 There were altogether some 14 Europeans attached to Ilimo--two medical assistants, two nurses, two government teachers, one agricultural expert and the others administration workers, mission workers, etc. Mr. Kaad, though himself a Roman Catholic, made it a rule for the whole European staff, including himself, to attend the daily religious services, "to show the people we were with them." Food distributions were made daily through the village constables, blankets and medical supplies were available as needed, adult education classes were almost daily organised for both men and women, the agricultural officer demonstrated techniques and supervised the gardening programme, the Isivita people from Oro Bay were brought over to reunite families, and Kaad himself began to speak in favour of economic development in the future. Even such a bald summary indicates a far more intensive contact with Europeans at Ilimo than the Orokaiva generally experienced either before or since.

[829] Kaad's own comments place this experience in its proper perspective. He remarked that Ilimo camp showed the government in a good light, and that people responded especially when they found that they could go back to their villages. This comment indicates that the generous gifts of the Australian government did not, by themselves, lead to a removal of the Orokaiva fears and suspicions of Orokaiva motives. One question in people's minds was whether the government, having given the food and other comforts, would now feel entitled to seize land near the volcano. It was only when this suspicion proved unfounded that relations became genuinely warm, for only then were people sure that they were not the victims of trickery.

From our own knowledge of Australian administration we can easily see that Orokaiva fears of land alienation were wholly unfounded but, on the basis of their knowledge, the Orokaiva reasoned perfectly logically.
[431] First of all, it is regular Orokaiva custom, when one makes gifts, to have in mind a claim one wishes to make for a return gift. Thus, having accepted Australian gifts, the Orokaiva were naturally anxious to
[423] find out what would be demanded in return. Furthermore, the fear that the Australians might demand land which was unoccupied and uncultivated was based on past experience and on provisions actually on the Statute Book (Native Plantation Ordinance 1925-1934, repealed in 1960). According to this ordinance, land could be alienated where there appears to be no owner and also for the purpose of "technical education of natives in agriculture." It is a matter of historical fact that the Australians acquired some choice land in the Orokaiva district under these provisions prior to the second world war. (Information: P. Sebire.)

177 657 423 If we analyse the reasons why the Australian government would never have used these ordinances in the circumstances of 1951, we find that these reasons lie principally in Western notions of government responsibility for victims of disasters and other values of Western Civilisation, restraining cupidity, and held more strongly that the Orokaiva, on the basis of their information, could have taken for granted. I myself found, and Mr. Sebire confirmed, that the Orokaiva even today are extremely familiar with the provisions of this old ordinance, and that they still fear it, even though it has been repealed some years ago.

177 657 731 The episode at Ilimo therefore undoubtedly did much to increase confidence in Australian intentions. Mr. Kaad stated to me that the main ultimate purpose of the camp administration was to teach new skills and a new way of life. Under camp conditions, there was a good opportunity to teach these new skills and put forward new ideas, but the real opportunity, he said, came later in the resettlement villages. The people at Ilimo had their world shattered and were still recovering from the shock. For that reason they could not absorb as much of what they were taught as they could have done normally.

177 657 After Ilimo broke up, Mr. Kaad transferred to Saiho, where the new hospital was then being built and where an administrative centre was also established. (Only the Agriculture Department still operates from there today.) He attempted to develop further the new ideology he had been putting forward by contacts with the resettlement villages of Agenahambo, Koipa, Awala, Waseta, Kongohambo and Mumuni. He continued his educational, agricultural and medical programmes for some months in these villages, but he was not able to stay long. From the viewpoint of today, these programmes cannot be seen as marking a permanent change in the pattern of Orokaiva-European contacts. It would be more correct to say that the European soon became as remote as before but that the ideas promoted at Ilimo and by Mr. Kaad were later taken up by the people in the framework of organisations where direct contact with Europeans retained only a minor role.

Section 9: Contact with Americans and Returned Ancestors

829 How did Orokaiva themselves classify white people? As we have seen, they do not classify them according to the organisational role they fulfill. I also found that ethnic origin of white people is usually not a basis upon which Orokaiva will classify them. There is, however, a more esoteric basis of classification which I encountered on a number of occasions.

829 769 It is well known that in many parts of Melanesia, there is a belief in the return of ancestors, whose skins are white, and who bring wealth and a happier dispensation to their Melanesian descendants. The Orokaiva do not appear to look upon every white man they see as a

829 returned ancestor, but have principles for distinguishing between
those who are and those who are not ancestors. A territorial distinction
769 that was suggested to me was that the Northern Hemisphere is generally
regarded as inhabited by spirits and ancestors. (It was an educated
informant who suggested this.) Some Papuans who went to England for
the Queen's coronation could not believe that the buildings, the
elevators, etc., had been built by ordinary men. A parcel of clothing,
taken from England by a visitor was thought of as a gift from the
ancestors.

Israel, Egypt, the Red Sea and other places mentioned in the Bible are especially so regarded. One example of the sacredness ascribed to these places was evident in the reception given to a popular missionary in the Kokoda district who returned to his parish after a visit to the Holy Land. The festivities with which he was received were very much out of the ordinary, and I was told this was because the ancestors had gone to these places.

In accordance with the usual Melanesian pattern, Australia,
being the country exercising political and commercial control, was
excluded from the vague area to which the ancestors had supposedly
gone. On the other hand, New Zealand was not necessarily regarded in
the same way as Australia. A young New Zealand geographer who paid
a brief visit to Mumuni (in the Sasembata district) and to myself at
Sivepe had been showered with gifts and one man had pressed money upon
him which he was asked to invest in New Zealand, in which case it was
expected to multiply a thousandfold. The young man was prudent enough
123 to decline the offer. I do not quite know how my wife and I were
regarded in Sivepe, but there was evidence that the surrounding villages
829 likewise regarded us as returned ancestors; I was once drawn into a
769 discussion with a branch of the Jegase clan group at Kiorota, four
hours' walking from Sivepe, where it was known that we were living
closely with the Jegase clan group. I was asked point-blank whether
I belonged to the Jegase clan; later, the Sivepe people told me what
the meaning of this question had been. It would seem that this
identification with returned ancestors was due less to our geographical
provenance than to the type of relationships we had developed with
Orokaiva people; both the geographer and we were living in villages,
eating with the people and sharing with them; my wife was gardening;
our behaviour was not that of the taupa. To this point I shall return.

177 It must be due to reasoning of this sort that Americans were
placed definitely in the category of returned ancestors. I was told
829 they were very different from other taupa (or rather, they were not
really taupa at all). The American forces, it will be remembered,
769 fought the Japanese at the Kokoda Trail and drove them out of the
Northern District in 1942-1943. Both they, and the Australian troops
accompanying them, maintained friendly relations with the Orokaiva who
helped them in various ways, supplied them with whatever food they had
in return, received very generous gifts. The American soldiers ate
with the Orokaiva, which Australian officials hardly ever do, and

177 fraternised with them. In fact, the friendly atmosphere created by
both the American and Australian troops during the war gave the Orokaiva
829 a different view of Europeans than they had before and must have
769 greatly assisted the acceptance of the economic development ideology
and local government council movement in the 1950's and 1960's. A
[415] great proportion of the cooking pots, adzes and other steel tools
found in the villages today were gifts from the Americans.

769 In all the villages I visited, people listened to the news
broadcasts in Motu and Pidgin English; hence they heard about the
829 Vietnam war and we discussed it a few times. The reaction was strange:
[207] it was a great pity that those American boys were being killed in
Vietnam, because they were wonderful people. There was distinct
[191] disappointment that the Americans had decided to go to Vietnam instead
of returning to Papua-New Guinea. Some jealousy was felt towards the
Vietnamese who had now been thus favoured. I tried to assuage the
disappointment felt by my informants by summarising some facts from the
Manchester Guardian Weekly, my only source of knowledge at the time,
but I could see that the convictions of the Orokaiva on this point were
unshakable; they knew some things about the Americans which I was (or
pretended to be) ignorant of.

Section 10: Self-Group Image

The self-group image of the Orokaiva has undergone a profound
829 change since the war. The question that we need to investigate here is
(178) the extent to which the eruption experience affected this long-term
change. The most useful procedure will therefore be, as in Section 8,
121 to set out first the present self-group image and its general development
over the last few decades; secondly, to place the data we have on the
128 period immediately following the disaster in the framework of this
general development.

Like other peoples I have personally studied (the New Zealand
829 Maori and the Canadian Indian), the Orokaiva have been the recipients
of a barrage of propaganda on the part of missionaries and government
officials, who were critical of Orokaiva material standards, social
customs and religious beliefs. They also supplied severe sanctions
against those who did not change their material standards and customs
while considerable inducements were held out to those who would. The
Maori and the Blood Indians, while complying on the whole with the
demands of the whites, at the same time retained a strong belief in
the greatness and, often also, the superiority of their old customs.
I was therefore surprised that the Orokaiva had nothing good to say
about their own past, representing it as a nightmare from which they
were glad to have escaped, while the teachings of the Europeans as
well as their goods, provided an opportunity--the only known opportunity--
for vast improvement.

829 I thought at first that this representation of Orokaiva history (from the dark ages into a great future) was put on specially for 173 my benefit. When I found Orokaiva were talking to each other in precisely the same terms, I thought that this view was held perhaps principally by persons with a vested interest, such as councillors, committee, etc. However, as I stayed longer, and became somewhat more trusted, I could still find no trace of nostalgia for customs that had been abandoned. I did, of course, become aware of the deep attachment the Orokaiva have for those of their traditional customs which they still practise, and values which they still hold.

[124] [126] I shall quote in detail one document, a tape recorded speech made by a councillor in the Orokaiva language, which is typical of the present Christian Orokaiva self-group image. I have a number of others, consistent with this one in essence, though differing in some details to which I shall draw attention. Though Councillor Colin's speech was specially made up to be recorded by me on tape, during a session when several other recordings were made, its general tenor was no different from the speeches he interminably made at other times. The only slant that may have been unusual was the extent to which he referred to past history. I had asked, on this occasion for stories of olden times (iji matu). The councillor started with a brief sketch of the wars of his forebears; he stressed that he and his listeners were the descendants of strong fighting men who killed wayfarers as though they were dogs, and who conquered the lands of others. "Now, there is a new day, and therefore we must be united." Later, the councillor described, for my benefit, some of the traditional magic. But, he said, people did not get paid jobs, but Jesus Christ (first) gave jobs for people to take. The village constable would drag them to Kokoda in chains for having told lies, and the magicians would be put to work to stop them from being convicted. They would be fired from their jobs for idling. Such were the old days.

[177] This story stressed the most widely accepted differences between the old and the new way of life: war vs. peace, danger vs. security, division vs. unity, magic vs. Christianity, poverty vs. wealth, simplicity vs. smartness. The councillor was, in every respect, in [625] favour of the new and opposed to the old way. He was not actually criticising the government, when referring to the activities of the [769] village constables; nor was he criticising the village constables. On the contrary, the village constables of the early contact period are greatly revered; their names are remembered and recited in much the same way as those of other renowned ancestors. Those who were handcuffed this is the indignity remembered above all else--were lacking in smartness they just did not know the tricks for keeping out of trouble. The village constables, as I was also told at Hohorita, were the men who brought peace, who saw that people did not continue to fight each other.

At Hohorita, I had a series of discussions, at which a number of men participated, about Orokaiva history. On a number of points, which I could check, I was given reliable information. I would therefore

173 accept, as genuinely held by the Hohorita people at the present time,
a view of history according to which the Orokaiva had only small
829 gardens before the Europeans introduced axes and knives; it was only
then that people started to make feasts, stopped eating wild fruit,
etc. Here informants credited to Europeans innovations traditionally
[342 ascribed to their own culture heroes. During the same interview, I
was told the people used to build houses by making a fence and putting
[177 leaves on top. The present house types, I was told, were introduced
by Europeans. It so happened that this statement was substantially
correct.

From these few examples (more data of the same kind could be
829 quoted), it is already clear that the Orokaiva perceive some resemblance
773 between the Europeans and their own culture heroes. The Orokaiva
ascribe whatever cultural goods they possess to the action of culture
heroes who brought them these goods in primeval time. This applies
not only to material knowledge (the making of fire, houses, clothes,
the growing of crops, etc.) but also to social behaviour (institutions
of warfare, marriage, feasting, etc.). The Europeans manifestly brought
with them innovations of the same scope. Like the culture heroes in
the myths, the Europeans have many valuable new things, but they are
reluctant to give them to the Orokaiva. They prefer to keep them for
themselves. Occasionally, though, they do give some of them away, or
are willing to trade them, or are successfully tricked into sharing
them. One of the recent gifts for which the Orokaiva are especially
grateful are the Local Government Councils. I asked some of the most
experienced councillors whether they were able to conduct the councils
according to their own ideas or were forced to follow ideas laid down
by the government. I was told that the councils came "not from
ourselves but from the administration. We don't know about the council.
It belongs to the administration. It was given to the village people."
The council was given much in the same way as fire had been given by a
culture hero.

Beneficial though the Europeans undoubtedly are, they are also
929 perceived as exasperating and dangerous: exasperating because of their
177 refusal to share their goods, to set up proper relationships with the
people and to adopt proper customs; dangerous because of the power of
the police, the prisons, and--most of all--the Christian
731 God. It is from this viewpoint that we should regard the Orokaiva
interpretation of the Mount Lamington eruption as reported by Belshaw
and Keesing. Belshaw reports that most Orokaiva explanations of the
eruption were religious in nature: "Some people said that this was
God's visitation because they had disobeyed the Bishop's instructions
to build new churches. Others said that God had punished them because
they had not helped the Allies sufficiently during the war and because
some of them had betrayed missionaries to the Japanese . . . This sense
of guilt is a most important factor in resettlement attitudes."
(1951: 242) Keesing agrees with this summary, adding that the eruption
resulted in "strong feelings of insecurity and even of guilt in their

731 did not encourage this belief but spoke of the eruption as a natural
784 disaster. Certainly this is how Orokaiva often speak of it today,
especially when they wish to give the impression of being modern and
[797] educated. Papuans close to the Mission invariably speak of it as a
natural disaster.

A group of elderly people in Sivepe, however, produced a quite
different theory when I interviewed them in 1966. They explained
the eruption by the anger of the god Sumbiripa. I was told that this
explanation was the generally accepted one at the time of the disaster.
At Hohorita, I was likewise told that the people, at the time of the
eruption, thought of the anger of Sumbiripa, though later they learned
it had been a natural disaster. My Sivepe informants, however, added
[787] a refinement. Before Sumbiripa blew up, he gave two signs. To the
Isivita people and those of the Sasembata district he made a sign of
blue fire, which meant that these people would be saved. To the
Sangara people, he gave a sign of red fire, which meant that they all
died. The reason for his anger towards the Sangara people was that
they used to throw hand bombs and shoot guns on the mountain. This
theory has the advantage of explaining the facts more closely than
the theory of the anger of the Christian God; it is easier to believe
that Sumbiripa discriminated between the two tribes than that the
Christian God should do so.

731 Before attempting to draw these rather various interpretations
together under a common theme, I shall refer briefly to F. E. Williams'
152 extremely cogent discussion on the Orokaiva's general attitude to
guilt, for which I myself collected much additional documentation.
When an Orokaiva is wronged he displays a state of mind called *sisire*.
[762] A person who is *sisire* withdraws, refuses food, destroys his own
property, may even commit suicide. By displaying his sorrow, he hopes
to shame the person who has wronged him. When a person is spoken
to roughly, he will feel *sisire*, "ashamed." It is the normal reaction
to being punished. The purpose is invariably to make the other party
feel sorry for what he has done. There is something of that feeling
in Father Albert's songs. The main mood is not so much contrition as
the hope that the singer will make God feel sorry. This is not quite
the same as what we understand by "guilt." All Belshaw's evidence
suggests that the Orokaiva people after the eruption felt very *sisire*.

Certainly, the eruption would be followed by a resolve not to
731 make the harsh power that brought the eruption angry again. Whether
784 this power was primarily identified with God or with Sumbiripa is
extremely hard to tell; it is even harder to tell whether these powers
177 were viewed as being entirely distinct. Father Albert's testimony
strongly suggests that the eruption was treated as symbolic of divine
wroth as it was presented in the Bible. I have argued earlier that
the Orokaiva look upon the Europeans as a new kind of culture heroes.
The new dispensation brought not only new wealth and new knowledge,
but also new wroth: Monckton's conquest, the world war, the eruption.
It does not seem far-fetched to assume that the disaster was taken as

731 177 [784] a warning not to openly disobey the new culture heroes, to deal with them gently and cunningly and avoid making them angry. Thus the eruption led to greater circumspection if not contrition. It also led to a sense of deeper involvement with the new age. The immediate consequence was a fashion of modern village building in 1951, as both Belshaw and Kaad have reported. After this rather brief demonstration of respect to the deity, life reverted to its previous style for some years, after which there was a further period of innovation, more soundly based on the development of the Sasembata school, the local government council, the increase of economic opportunities, both in the towns and in cash cropping, and finally on nation-wide political development. The Orokaiva of today definitely sees himself as entering upon a new age, and he views this with optimism and some excitement. The eruption undoubtedly was perceived as a potent sign of the coming of this new age and the danger of resisting it. For this reason, it might theoretically be expected that new ideas would be accepted more eagerly in the resettlement areas than in the less affected areas such as Inonda.

177 554 Unfortunately, I find it hard to evaluate the Inonda data. The Christian, cash-cropping families were as concerned to view themselves as living in a new age as were the people of Sivepe. The views of the other families were hard to obtain. Crocombe and Hogbin pointed out correctly that these families explain their non-participation in the coffee scheme by difficulties in their land title. The two authors also characterised the Pagan families as being of "lower status", pointing out that the "higher status" families are (also in neighbouring villages) the most likely to plant cash crops or likely to plant most, (1963: 85) for reasons of prestige. During my own stay, the Pagan families set themselves against participation in the women's club, as they felt it violated traditional custom. I had the impression that there was a status conflict between the factions, as participation in the church, the women's club or any other European activity would have put the resistant faction in a clear position of inferiority, and increased the power of the leader of the other faction who ran all these activities.

Section 11: Acculturation

177 The contacts and the ideological changes sketched in the previous sections have not led to a basic transformation of the culture. Williams' classical account of the Orokaiva, based on fieldwork conducted in 1923, still corresponds in fundamentals to what can be seen today. In the present section, I shall draw attention to some aspects of the culture that have changed since the eruption, but it should be stressed that, in field observation, they are seen as embedded in a largely traditional culture, with a social organisation, economy,

177 political and value system modified in only such minor ways that a
withdrawal of Australian power at this stage might well lead to a
discarding of many of the innovations. Certainly, this is what many
of the villagers fear and what makes them distrust any politicians
who are pressing for immediate independence.

177 Food: The Orokaiva menu is still basically the same as in the past.
Taro forms the mainstay of the meal, with various vegetable relishes,
262 while cooking bananas, sweet potatoes and yams are eaten in significant
quantities. Sugar beet, coconut and other nuts supplement the diet.
[263] Animal foods are eaten only on special occasions. It is the festive
diet that has undergone recent changes: trade salt is almost universally
[411] used instead of the native product. Fish and game have become rare
as a result of the introduction of guns and snorkels. The government
pressure against village pig-keeping has resulted in these becoming
rarer also. On the other hand, tins of fish and meat are bought in
trade stores and may make up for the loss of fresh animal food. Rice
is another introduced food, which was first eaten by members of the
Papuan constabulary, and distributed on a small scale when the Allies
were fighting the Japanese in the Northern District. The first time
that a large group of Orokaiva ate rice as a staple diet was during
the period in the camps after the eruption. Today, it is a food
bought when there are guests or a celebration. It is then eaten as a
[272] side dish, together with taro. Tea and sugar have likewise become
favoured at festive meals. Coffee, the main cash crop of the district,
[263] is totally unknown as a beverage; cocoa is likewise unknown, except
as a plantation crop.

Clothing: At the time of the eruption, traditional clothing was
291 universally worn. European clothing was introduced to the villages
in the 1950's by young men returning from employment in town. Today,
177 young and old wear European-type clothing except when doing traditional
dances. On one occasion a man dressed in full regalia to settle a
quarrel with a neighbouring village. This, I was told, added dignity
to his embassy. Men wear shirts and shorts; women wear Mother Hubbard
type of skirts and blouses, as well as frocks for dressy occasions.
Underclothes are not worn, though the Women's Clubs, encouraged by an
Australian adviser, have been trying to introduce them. I was told
that in Hohorita masculine opposition against this innovation (underclothes
for women and children) was quite violent--they ripped them
off. This story, however, came from a woman councillor who was not a
member of the Sangara tribe. The men wear shirts only when dressed
up; normally they are bare above the waist and many of the women likewise,
though some of the younger ones affect blouses a good deal of the time,
certainly on formal occasions. The causes of this change are not only
practise in the schools and mostly in the churches, but also a rather
widespread change of fashion. The Anglican Chruch does not stop women
from taking communion if they wear nothing above the waist; the pressure
is purely one of fashion.

177 Housing and village improvement: The changes in this aspect of culture
are capable of fairly precise description, which has been provided in
Table 10.[A] This table applies to Sivepe only; I shall refer to some
minor differences between Sivepe and Inonda at the end of this section.
335 The changes may be analysed into several main types. First, there is
the extent to which European materials and tools are used. Here, we note
412 that nails were a building material as early as 1951 (and therefore
177 also hammers), but a significant change has been the extent of their
use. The introduction of nails was partly a time-saving device, as
framing can be efficiently lashed together with the bark fibres
traditionally used. On the other hand, the "timber" walls might not
be easy to lash together and nails are probably necessary here. On
the other hand, the blackpalm or betelnut which is used for the floors
does not take nails at all well and the lashing is a superior technique,
177 used in almost all the houses. Secondly, there have been changes in
house design, and the use of materials. The increase in house size,
342 which was the most striking of the innovations, was general throughout
the village, according to a standard set by the leader and adhered to
by everybody. The change from betelnut to blackpalm flooring is
towards a superior, toughter material, harder to work and comparatively
rare in the Sasembata district. The change from sago to "timber"
walls was purely a matter of aesthetic fashion. I was told by Mr.
Sebire that it started in the early 1950's in the Kokoda district; in
Sasembata district it does not seem to have started until around 1965.
The new houses at the mission station had "timber" walls; so had the
new houses in several other nearby villages. Sivepe, being built on
a new site after the fashion started was wholly built in "timber"
(except for a few houses shifted from the old site and standing on the
new one and gradually replaced). The "timber" looks like weatherboard,
[335] which has been used on Australian houses in the Kokoda district. It
is cut from logs sawed to a length of six feet, which are then split
into shingles with a bushknife, a procedure which takes much time and
skill. The six feet long shingles are generally 3/8 inch thick and
five inches wide. The intention is to overlap them, providing better
protection against wind and rain than the sago walls have. The work of
cutting the shingles is so arduous, however, that the overlap is usually
quite small when the houses are built; as the logs are split green, the
timber shrinks until cracks appear between the boards.

177 The third type of change is that actually advocated by European
authorities. (The timber walls, according to administration officers,
[342] were a purely Orokaiva idea.) For reasons of hygiene, the administration
wanted the houses to have windows, which traditionally they did not
have. The new houses have large windows, but they are all blocked up
with boards (to keep the wind and rain out) so that they are not functional,
[364] except in warding off criticism from Australian officials. The village
improvement measures: elimination of pigs, lavatories, rubbish holes,
[351] pens for chickens; are all based on European advocacy. The neat lines
of crotons and other shrubs, which are beginning to form a standard

A [See Cat. 116, p. 215--Analyst]

177 part of village layouts, are a blend of Papuan tradition (the Orokaiva
have always been very fond of flowers and planted ornamental shrubs)
[351] and a new Australian-derived passion for military regularity. This
[363] is evident especially in the emphasis placed on building the houses
in a line, and equidistant; the shrubs are also rigidly in line.

The changes are to some extent due to the experience of Ilimo
177 camp which is reflected in the style of Old Sivepe. The changes found
342 in New Sivepe are due to subsequent influences, mainly that of the
Local Government Council. Once village improvement became an ideologically
validated objective, the way was open to the adoption of
further innovations borrowed from the Kokoda district, such as the
use of "timber." I did not see "timber" used East of the Sasembata
district.

It may well be that the increase in house size, coupled with
[182] the present need to build a large number of houses in the same year
to form a major modern village, would rapidly have led to a critical
shortage of sago in Sivepe if people had continued to use this material
for walls. Thus, the present practise of using timber instead of
sago could well have an economic explanation. Sago roofs can be
built without destroying the plants, whereas plants have to be cut
entirely to produce sago walls. I was not, however, given an economic
explanation for the change-over to timber; I was told only that it
was better-looking and provided good protection against wind and rain.
But nobody would say anything against sago; sago walls are "also very
good."

Tools and skills: Traditional agriculture has undergone considerable
177 change, as elsewhere in New Guinea, by the introduction of steel axes,
241 bush knives, grubbers etc. Thus the preparation of the soil for
[412] gardening has been greatly facilitated. There has, however, been no
change in the operations concerned with the plants themselves, planting
and harvesting being done with wooden digging sticks. Many of the men
have had experience in rubber plantations, with operations such as
tapping; there are a few tapping chisels in the village. Training in
coffee cultivation occurred after the eruption, but it was not until
a few years ago that hulling machines were introduced. Every grower
177 at Sivepe has, as far as I know, only one coffee sack. The basic
skills needed to bring rubber and coffee to market have been mastered,
245 but up-to-date techniques for improving the yield of the trees have
249 not been mastered. The difficulty, in this respect, is not purely one
of communication, as men who have been employed as rubber tappers must
be familiar with certain rules regarding care of the trees which are
definitely not being practised. Similarly, I doubt whether one can
explain failure, on the part of Sivepe growers, to prune their coffee
trees by ignorance of pruning techniques. The true explanation would
appear to be a lack of confidence that the rules make any difference
to the yields. In Hohorita people began to prune their coffee trees
when they discovered they were then easier to harvest. But the whole
pattern of reasoning upon which Western horticultural practises are

177 based, is alien and seems dubious to Orokaiva. The Europeans claim
245 that a plant needs to be looked after even if it contains no spirit;
249 to the Orokaiva this appears absurd.

Some Orokaiva have been employed by Europeans as carpenters;
[824] these men have certain skills upon which a community draws when large
community buildings (for instance, the hospital at Sasembata mission
177 station) need to be constructed. The trained carpenter leads such
enterprises in the role of expert. There was one such man in Sasembata
335 village; he, like most others of his type, learned his skill in
European employment and not in one of the small adult education
ventures which the administration has sponsored from time to time (the
adult education classes at Ilimo camp were probably the first of this
type).

177 For the rest, the skills acquired by Orokaiva over the last 15
years are largely concerned not directly with village development but
871 rather with an increase of understanding of the world outside. While
before the war, only a small minority had school education, the
Anglican Mission spread its operations to several new stations,
including Sasembata, after the war. After the eruption, the scope of
education was again greatly extended and it could be said that the
eruption marked the beginning of universal school education in the
majority of Orokaiva villages. The Sasembata station began to draw
virtually the entire child population of the surrounding villages,
and most students now follow a five or six year course. While this
development had been planned ever since the war, it may be significant
that regular school attendance of all the villages in the district
was experienced for the first time at Ilimo, where a school was
conducted for the whole evacuee child population, and adult classes
as well. It is the objective of present school programmes, as far
as I can see, to make the population literate and the increase of
[212] literacy is a major aspect of acculturation over the period. Literacy
has certainly progressed to a point where letters written in Orokaiva
to any family in Sivepe can be read and understood with the help of
at least a junior member of the family; and can be replied to. While
177 I could see no evidence that people have acquired mathematical knowledge
802 of any sophistication, I was struck by a strong quantitative orientation.
In the Orokaiva language, there are no numerals higher than 2; hence,
it is the invariable practise to use English numerals when speaking
[192] the Orokaiva language. The numerals are, in fact, among the main
English linguistic features that have been borrowed. They are used
with remarkable frequency; the number of coffee trees, the value in
pounds of trade goods included in a bride price, the calculation of
money prices, even the number of brothers or men who together played
some role in a mythological tale (a distinctly contemporary touch,
this)--all these phenomena show that "numbers" have become an integral
part of Orokaiva culture. The Orokaiva use the English word "number"
177 for a variety of quantitative concepts, including price. Finally, one
829 must regard as an aspect of acculturation, the introduction of many

177 concepts drawn from the scene of world affairs. While among the
829 Orokaiva, I heard talk about Vietnam, Indonesia, Africa, India. The
political orientation displayed was a mild kind of nationalism, and
a sense of closeness to newly independent non-white states. But the
[203] information, derived from radio broadcasts and speeches by councillors,
introduced an acculturative kind of perspective. Its dissemination is
being actively encouraged by the Australian authorities.

465 Use of money: Before the eruption, money played a very minor role
in village life. It was earned by men who were away for limited
[464] periods working on plantations. Money wages on plantations were, and
are, extremely low; wages for agreement labour in 1962 were, for
instance, $39 per annum for the first year of which $12 is paid out
in monthly installments and the rest at the end of the year. In the
second year, the rate rose to $45.50 p.a. (Howlett, 1965) Urban wages
are a great deal higher than this; most Sivepe men who were absent
on employment worked on urban jobs. At the same time, a regular
income was derived from coffee.

464 Sivepe men were simply not interested in jobs at plantation
rates of pay, nor were they interested in "carrying" jobs for the
435 government even though wages in that case were higher. They were also
indifferent to selling their garden products on the Saiho and Popondetta
438 markets, as there were frequent gluts, prices were low and carrying
goods to market was an unduly arduous task.

Money was used largely to buy goods in the luxury rather than
436 the subsistence sphere. Money was essential for payment of taxes
511 and for a minimum of clothes, often acquired cheaply at jumble sales.
Otherwise, it was used to buy tobacco, food for feasts, kerosene
mainly used for feasting occasions, cartridges for hunting, again for
feasts. Among the larger purchases made were radios, pressure lamps,
bicycles, tools; all these, however, could never be paid for with
current income. One had to depend on special windfalls: a gift from
454 a relative in town, a bride price. Money was not only for spending,
however; it was also for saving. I shall refer to the organisation
556 of corporate saving later; in addition a number of Sivepe men had
savings, of the order of $10-$20, sometimes more, hidden away. This
money was kept for special occasions, but in addition, the very fact
of possessing it was regarded as important. I was once told that
Europeans were powerful because they had money; the Orokaiva could
get power only if they too possessed savings.

If money was definitely highly valued, it was only to a limited
436 extent regarded as a standard of value. If we accept some model such
437 as was suggested by Salisbury (1962), we may say that the Orokaiva
have three spheres of exchange: a subsistence, luxury and ritual
sphere, while bank notes are used for special, often ritual occasions.
[461] In the acquisition of luxury goods of any kind, including money, the
Orokaiva tend to weigh the benefits gained by them against their cost
in time and unpleasantness and against the benefits that can be gained
from other investments. Money is, in general, wanted only if it can

461 be acquired without too much hard labour or threat to status, and only
if its acquisition does not involve foregoing other more highly valued
[436 benefits. Thus, the market has a great elasticity of supply: when
[437 the price seems right to the Orokaiva, supply suddenly emerges from
all directions; when the price is lowered, there is suddenly no supply
[435 at all. The investment of effort is at once directed into different
avenues: subsistence gardening, house-building, a project for the
mission, or a hall for the women's club, or a hunting expedition, or
practises for a dance.

177 Comparison with Inonda: In this section I have discussed a small
184 number of acculturation variables as they apply to Sivepe. In general they apply to Inonda also, but there are a few minor differences to be mentioned. The most important of these is that whereas one can speak, in Sivepe, about a certain stage in acculturation reached by the community, it is less easy to do the same for Inonda where, at one end of the scale, we find fairly young men without cash-cropping skills, without school education, and almost entirely aloof from the money economy, while at the other end, one man has become a government driver and would need to be considered, in every respect, as more acculturated than any man of the same age group at Sivepe. It would be wrong to suggest, however, that acculturation in Sivepe was homogeneous; nor that the conservatism of part of Inonda is necessarily a long-term phenomenon.

There is no difference in food habits between the two villages, except that the government driver, having more money, eats better. In respect to clothing, it seemed that in Sivepe young women are a little more prone to cover their breasts than in Inonda; this is of course very much a matter of fashion and can change in months. With regard to housing, changes were actually occurring during the year I was in the field. Houses were being enlarged up to approximately the Sivepe size, and this programme was explained to me as due to the forthcoming feast at which the Seva people were invited and the new floor space was needed to accommodate them. The argument was thus not quite the same as at Sivepe, where the larger houses were thought of as a necessary part of "iji eha," the new age. "Timber" was not used in Inonda, all the walls being of sago. The "timber" fashion never travelled as far East as Inonda; I doubt whether Inonda had enough suitable trees and, furthermore, Inonda did not have the same shortage of sago. Though sago was rare on Inonda lands, the residents had a plentiful supply from other lands belonging to relatives. At Inonda, only some of the people used rubbish holes, whereas the others threw their refuse into the bush. On the other hand, the village was most plentifully and attractively laid out with shrubs and ornamental plants. Inonda, built a special feast house for their visitors from Seva, whereas Sivepe did not do so for their visitors from Togahou. This definitely reflected a non-traditional attitude in Sivepe.

177 In the attitude to money, and to education, Inonda was clearly
436 split between the traditionalist and the modern faction. The modern
faction was, in fact more money-oriented than were the Sivepe people.
583

177 The clearest example of this was in the computation of bride price.
436 As I mentioned, the Sivepe people, in calculating the value of bride
price, translated all gifts of trade goods (clothes, kitchen utensils,
583 etc.) into money terms, speaking of a bride price of 72 pounds when
the actual cash component was only $28. (The word "dollar" is well-known to Orokaiva but as yet imperfectly accepted in discourse as a unit of value.) Inonda, however, in calculating the value of bride price, went further and converted also the pigs, valuables and tapa cloths into money terms, as was described in Hogbin, 1966. Upon inquiring specifically whether the Inonda people calculated bridewealth in this way, I found that Hogbin's presentation corresponded with the Inonda method of estimating. In other words, Inonda people spoke of a 100-pound brideprice, when the actual gifts were as follows:

Cash	$ 80.00
Household goods	13.00
Pig	60.00
Bark-cloth	9.75
Food	10.60
Traditional valuables	28.20
Total	$201.55

Sivepe people expressed some horror at the thought that this should be referred to as a $200 bride price; to them the gifts of pig, bark-cloth, food and traditional valuables were gifts of a special type that could not be equated with money. I asked one informant whether this was perhaps a modern trend; "not modern but silly," he replied.

177 This reply reminds us how hazardous it is to place a number of
184 phenomena, found in different villages, on a unilinear kind of
acculturation continuum. Nonetheless, I believe that the facts show some tendency for Sivepe to be more "acculturated" than Inonda, even though the differences are slight, and apply only to part of the Inonda population.

Section 12: Impact of External Influences on Community Organisation

184 One of the difficulties of our research design is that Sivepe
and Inonda are of different population size, Sivepe having exactly
621 three times the population of Inonda (135: 45). Hence, the community
organisation of the two villages would naturally differ for that
[614] reason alone. A second difference lies in the clan composition of the
two villages and the changes in clan composition over the period under consideration. Pamba contained three clans: Seho, Jegase and Timumu and modern Sivepe still contains roughly the same family alignment except that the members of the Timumu clan are now calling themselves

625 excursions. This was, however, an experience of short duration and,
731 once back in Sivepe, the village constable reverted to his former role,
as described above. In 1956, all village constables handed back to
the government their handcuffs, the symbol of their authority, and the
Local Government Councils took over.

With regard to interpersonal relations, the evacuation set up
[685] a mutual distrust due to the removal of certain social controls.
[571] Theft is comparatively uncommon in Orokaiva villages, but this is
because property is extremely well-guarded and everyone in the village
is constantly under observation by other villagers. The idea of
villages being left unguarded was repugnant to Orokaiva, and fear of
prowling had to be countered by strict control on the part of village
constables over anyone entering the restricted area. I could find no
evidence of a change in interpersonal relations beyond the period
of evacuation.

476 The Orokaiva are not often observed to work in groups; from
the relatively acephalous structure it may already be inferred that
571 they do not have regular work leaders controlling groups. Most
gardening is done by each extended family separately; house building
is done by the prospective occupants with the help of some individuals
who feel an obligation, mostly a brother or brother-in-law. Even at
feasts, there is a minimum of truly communal labour: the food is
supplied by individuals who deliver it to the display platform and it
is only the dancing, the ceremonial and a few minor construction tasks
that may be communal. There are in Sivepe two yam gardens where work
is communal; these are in sharp contrast to all other garden work.
Yet people readily gather for common efforts which have a festive and
ceremonial nature or enterprises which arouse an episodic enthusiasm.
Examples are the communal fishing and hunting expeditions, projects
such as the mission hospital or the marking of the ward boundary.

Even during these communal episodes, the tendency is for each
small group to perform a certain task separately, though contemporaneously.
A hunting party splits up into family groups who do not meet again
until the hunt is over. In fishing each group has its own spot.
Similarly in the building of new Sivepe, there was little that was
overtly communal, as each small group was working on a house for
themselves or a close kinsman. Nonetheless, one would be wrong to
[342] describe this pattern as individualistic. After all, every house was
in the same style and of the same size--and this was not wholly a
[177] "traditional" style; it was a style introducing new materials and an
increase in size of about 50%. When such a change is made by everybody
who builds a new house, this indicates that the group is strongly
bound by collective decisions.

177 Unwittingly, the Australian government has tended to make the
654 Orokaiva more oriented towards group work than he was before. Road
work, the compulsory planting of rubber trees, compulsory resettlement
571 in larger villages--all these added to the volume of group work while
the volume of individual work remained constant within the villages.

654 The rubber plantings followed a quota established for each village;
177 in practise, a village man would make one of his garden plots available
to the community at large and all the village trees would be planted
571 there. This would be a communal work project. In accordance with
476 Orokaiva tradition, however, the product of these rubber trees would
be individually appropriated, each man being allowed to collect a
limited quantity of rubber for himself and market it. The tasks of
building the mission station and maintaining it further added to the
amount of group work required. Men who took jobs on plantations once
more found themselves in a group work situation which formed a contrast
with the earlier tradition of individual effort.

474 It is paradoxical that the Australians, after first encouraging
this group orientation, soon found themselves fighting against it, in
177 the belief that they were face to face with that dangerous phenomenon
"communism." The immediate post-war period, up to the time of the
241 eruption, was the time when an ideologically based cooperative movement
took root in the Northern District. This movement, which was centred
on Gona, has been well described in general terms by Dakeyne (1966).
[797] It was the direct result of the work of two Anglican clergymen, Revs.
Benson and Clint, who preached the virtues of cooperatives, and encouraged
the cultivation of a great many village plots of rice and peanuts
between the years 1947-1951. Dakeyne reports: "Rev. Flint was
insistent that Christian ritual be associated with co-operative
action. Educational and committee meetings always closed with a special
prayer, there were church services at which tools were blessed and
newly planted seed was blessed in the gardens. This aspect of the
cooperative movement was regarded with some apprehension by Administration
officers who felt it could be misunderstood by the Papuans and possibly
lead to the development of a cargo cult. There was some evidence to
suggest that a cult did in fact begin." (1966: 60)

The evidence, which Dakeyne does not cite, is interesting enough to be worth a brief mention. Kleekham, the agricultural officer for the coastal area at that time, reports in a memorandum (Kleekham, n.d.) that leaders of the movement were collecting taxes secretly and that "some mystical element was involved" in rice marketing. Kleekham had a huller and was willing to hull rice for growers" consumption or buy it for cash, but the people withheld their produce. He thought that this aloofness was due to the growers' belief "that the formation of and participation in cooperatives would--magically or mystically--in short time raise the native to the status of the European in all respects."

In some form, this movement reached both Sivepe and Inonda. At Sivepe, one man made a plot available where people could "cooperatively" grow rice. A deacon stationed at Sasembata, but a member of the Yega tribe where the movement had its origin, blessed the seeds and (according to my informant, allocated a section of the field to different individuals. The rice was hulled by the Administration's agriculture officer at Wraeta and each man took his own rice back home, giving a

474 share to the owner of the land. This activity started some time after
177 1947 and ceased with the eruption of Mount Lamington. It involved
"everybody" at Pamba. At Inonda, both rice and peanuts were tried
241 out. The rice was planted in one block, without subdivisions; it
was hulled and sold at Higaturu government station, the money was
distributed. There were two harvests between the time people started
to grow rice and the time of the eruption, when rice was abandoned.
Proceeds were 18 pounds and nine pounds; people's shares were two to
three pounds each. The mission had nothing to do with the activity,
but only the government, so I was told.

The evidence, limited as it is, leads one to wonder whether
the rice produced by the cooperatives was really unsaleable, as Dakeyne
suggests (1966: 61-62). On the other hand, there is no doubt that
the mission lacked any marketing facilities and I would strongly agree
with Dakeyne that the cooperative movement could never have succeeded
except on the basis of cash sales for good prices. Sivepe, acting
under mission influence, ate their own rice and did not attempt to
sell it. When the people came back after the eruption, the rice was
"spoiled," the deacon had been transferred to another station. In
Inonda, the crop had likewise been "spoiled." Dakeyne reports that
in 1951, the rice was attached by a species of "army worm;" the
District Agricultural Officer ordered all crops destroyed.

The pattern of production of the Sivepe rice resembles that
474 of the communal yam gardens. There also, several men may plant
241 together in the garden of one of them; the users are then expected
to make a gift of yams to the owner before taking away their own. If
[427] we put this strictly in contractual terms, a man leases land to others
for one year for a fee. The lessees, together with the owner (who
retains one section for himself), club together as a kind of working
bee for the planting and harvesting (and perhaps some other operations).
This traditional pattern was revived after the eruption in the establishment
of coffee and rubber stands. Its significance, however, is somewhat
changed if such common cultivations are carried on not for the sake
of growing food for feasts (such as the yams), but for cash (as in the
case of rubber and coffee and perhaps rice). When a common plot is
established for cash crops (but not yams), the Sasembata district
people call this a "company;" they speak of "company land"--the word
"company" being a borrowed English word incorporated in Orokaiva
vocabulary. This word has mildly millennial overtones: a "company"
is the means by which the Orokaiva may acquire wealth equal to that of
[829] the Europeans. It would be unfair to say, with Kleekham, that the
"company" of the Orokaiva is a mystical and magical device; it is in
fact a representation of what Orokaiva believe European business to
be like.

Today, Sivepe has three forms of economic organisation. The
471 dominant one is that where the factors of production are entirely
[596] provided by the extended family and where the product is appropriated
by the extended family also. This sytem applies to subsistence as

474 plus other amounts of unknown size--enough for the projected establishment 443 of a trade store. Rimoldi's report suggests that cooperation between the villages for this project was difficult to attain; the mission teacher who was to coordinate the project withdrew. (1963: 107-108) After Rimoldi left, one of the Sivepe clans (Jegase) evidently went ahead with some scheme to open a trade store at Sivepe and lost all its money. There was some dishonesty on the part of someone, but I did not try to explore this. When I arrived, the plan to open a trade store was still alive, but people did not like the idea of its being operated by a clan; one of the families of the Jegase clan was playing with the idea of raising some money and starting one. It seems likely that the savings accumulated by the Timumu clan, to which Rimoldi refers, were lost along with the Jegase savings.

454 In 1966, two group savings accounts were in operation. People had no project in mind for which these savings were intended, but 621 it was felt to be salutary to have savings because there would be no chance otherwise, as I was told, to reach equal status with Europeans. One of these savings accounts was for the whole village, and this is probably the one opened in 1961, referred to by Rimoldi. In 1966, when these bonds matured, the Seho clan leader brought all the money home in two-dollar bills and handed these to each contributor at a meeting. Most of the contributors handed their money back for later investment. The second savings account was operated by one clan, for the purpose of its own bride price and similar payments; as it was clan money, the facts about it were secret. The village fund contained $158.

474 The only cooperative effort known to me at Inonda was a regular arrangement by which vegetables grown at Inonda were carted to the 439 Embi Hospital and sold there, in 1967. Towards the end of 1966, some vegetables were sold in the same way to the government in Popondetta. In this case, the proceeds were shared between individual growers. The arrangement was the result of contact between the man who had become a government driver and the appropriate authorities. The carrier was an affine.

571 Finally, a notable aspect of social organisation in the post-eruption period is the emergence of leaders whose authority rests on [554] two sources: status in traditional terms and status conferred by Australian-sponsored organisations. The village constables could [177] sometimes be so classified, at least superficially. Only on rare instances, however, were they champions of Western values who sought to influence the minds of the people towards acceptance of these values. They did not ask their people to accept Australian organisations as a source of authority (if Weber's definition of this term be accepted) 654 but only to recognise them as an effective source of compulsion. The people of Sivepe, as well as Hohorita were very much aware that the 571 position of the councillors and committees, successors of the village 623 constables, was very different. The councillor's job was to preach the doctrine of the "new way;" people would tell me how bored they

777 this lineage was the village constable. Though the records are by no
means satisfactory, it is clear that between 1955 and 1963, virtually
the whole of the Jegase clan became baptised while in 1963--but only
then--the majority of the Seho clan became Christian. The time lag
between the clans was not insignificant, as the head of the Seho clan,
who refused to be baptised, died in 1963, and it was after his death
that the new leader, his son, joined the Church, together with his
clansmen. It would be wrong, however, to suggest that it was only
the death of the old leader which delayed conversion, because the
records for the Sasembata district as a whole show 1962 and 1963 as
the years that Christianity became the dominant religion in these
villages. Before 1963, the pattern seems to have been similar to the
present one in Inonda: one clan or faction was baptised, while the
[754] other held out. I was told that it was the old men with a reputation
for black magic who felt most disinclined to abandon Paganism, as they
feared it would harm their powers.

731 I shall delay a general discussion on the Church until a later
Chapter and confine myself here to a discussion of the impact on
777 community organisation. Undoubtedly, the eruption accelerated the
development of some of the Anglican mission stations. While before
1951, the mission in that district was centralised in Sangara, the new
centre was in Popondetta, well away from the populous area around the
mountain. The major station still operating in the Mount Lamington
area was the one at Waseta. In 1951, major stations were established
at Sasembata, Agenahambo and Irihambo, while the Hohorita and Isivita
stations which followed later completed the coverage. One impetus to
the support given to the Sasembata station by the people was undoubtedly
the active programme of the church during the evacuation period, when
there were daily church services as well as church participation in
the education and health field.

871 One feature that became established during the evacuation period
was regular schooling for the young. The extent to which the people
731 recognised this as a momentous change in community life is shown by
a ritual introduced about that time and still observed at the present.
177 In 1967, the head teacher announced that school would start on a
Thursday but no pupils came. The people told him the children were not
[852] "ready." The following Sunday, all the children--and only the children--
gathered for a "feast"--a common evening meal at which they were
obsequiously served by the adults. This was a feast to farewell them,
I was told, for the next day they would go away to the school. The
measured distance between the village ground and the school ground was
six chains. The children were home every night and every lunch hour.
Nonetheless, in a more essential sense they were leaving the village
to submit to the influence of strangers.

794 When Sasembata station was reopened in 1951, no community
organisation was associated with the church so that the mission teachers
had to make contact with villages for any work they wanted done and
this was arranged on an ad-hoc basis. Nowadays, there are two forms of

654 After resettlement in Awala and other villages, the government
made no attempt to discourage the resettled people from making contact
731 with other villages, as long as they did not begin to reside within
the area that was still restricted in May, 1951.

Section 3: Morale of the Relocated Community

731 In earlier chapters, I have already drawn attention to the
widespread homesickness of the evacuees and their insistence upon
823 maintaining identification with the homeland. Undoubtedly, separation
from this land compels the Orokaiva to abandon many of his customs and
traditions of the past, because so many of these customs and traditions
[852] arise out of association with the land. To give only one example, a
ceremony thought to be necessary for the survival of a new-born child
is, even now, performed in a family garden. Separation from the family
[779] land makes such a ritual impossible. At Ilimo, traditional rituals
were replaced to some extent by the unaccustomed frequency of Christian
religious services which were alwa,s well-attended. This, however,was
at no time accepted as a substitute for the old way of life.

731 Naturally, in the circumstances, people did not feel any pride
or satisfaction in their situation in the evacuation camps. Once they
177 were resettled in new villages on their own land, they felt pride in
the new villages and in the "new way of life" they had adopted. Sivepe
[438] was proud, for instance, of having discarded its pigs. On one occasion
they were bargaining to buy a pig from neighbouring Garombi which still
[628] had its pigs. During the bargaining, a Garombi man taunted Sivepe about
its lack of this kind of treasure. The Sivepe people haughtily called
off the sale. Such pride and interest in innovation was associated
with a sense of security regarding land tenure and Sivepe's status
in relation to other villages. If Sivepe had not felt secure in its
ideology of the "new way," there would have been dismay at Garombi's
taunt about the lack of pigs. But nobody in Sivepe doubted the rightness
of the choice that had been made.

657 731 ideas concerning socio-economic development. It looked in early 1951 as though the evacuees would not be able to go back to their homes for a long time. The vulcanologist had recommended a large restricted area (see Map II)[A] and was doubtful when (if ever) it would be safe again for human habitation. It looked as though thousands would have to be resettled in altogether new surroundings. Such resettlement could only occur under strict government supervision; in these villages, it looked as though the government might have the opportunity to introduce a new way of life: model village layouts, cash cropping, improved land tenure, better education, health services, everything in fact that developers still aim at today, except that no plans existed for the setting up of new political institutions.

[177] To what extent were the evacuees involved in plans of this kind? Mr. Kaad often spoke to the evacuees of Ilimo about his ideas concerning development. Belshaw's evidence shows that a number of Orokaiva to whom he talked were eager to embrace a new way of life and, especially, that they were anxious to get better educational facilities. He also detects a strong motive for the Orokaiva to agree to any propositions Mr. Kaad put to them: they hoped that thus they would be allowed to leave the evacuation camp earlier than if they argued back (1951: 246). Mr. Kaad himself expressed to me the view that the evacuation camps were too stressful an environment to be propitious for the teaching of development ideas.

During the time when large-scale development was envisaged, at least three persons of authority and scholarly qualifications were asked the Territory administration for their opinions. Belshaw (1951) advocated a general broadly-based socio-economic development programme, in line with modern theory of applied anthropology, but far beyond the resources and administrative skills of the Territory at that time. Keesing (1953) recognised that the resettlement had been "remarkably effective" as a means of reducing "cultural trauma" caused by the eruption. He further commented: "Any attempt by Government and Mission to use the emergency to manipulate such a people and culture arbitrarily in drastically new economic and socio-political directions would seem foredoomed to failure, and would generate unwanted tensions." Plant, an anthropologically trained administration officer, studied some of the practical consequences a wholesale resettlement policy would have. He worked out an elaborate scheme whereby groups would be resettled in villages where there were local groups with the same clan name--a procedure which the thought would be in line with traditional social organisation--but he also showed that resettlement outside the restricted area, as defined in early 1951, would probably lead to land shortages.

Shortly after these three studies were made, an unexpected event changed the situation. The vulcanologist found that the active, paroxysmal stage of volcanic activity of Mount Lamington had ceased after less than two months and hence, a large part of the restricted area could be resettled long before he had earlier been led to expect.

A [See Cat. 116, pp. End Map 2(A)-End Map 2(B)--Analyst]

Section 2: Economic Assistance

177 Subsistence: Undoubtedly, European contact had a profound influence on the subsistence economy, both through the introduction of steel 433 tools and of the pax Australiana. The government did not, however, intervene directly in the operation of the Orokaiva subsistence economy; it was a very simple economy, but it provided, in general, adequate nutrition and housing. The first time the Orokaiva subsistence 731 economy broke down seriously in the post-contact period was immediately 657 after the eruption of Mount Lamington. The government therefore decided to offer some limited assistance towards the re-establishment of the subsistence economy in the resettlement villages built when the refugees left the evacuation camps. One requirement of the new villages was a food supply until new gardens had been made and harvested. This [241] requirement was met by the planting of a quick-growing variety of sweet potato in villages in the vicinity of Ilimo camp. The government also bought up any root crops the Orokaiva could supply and distributed these in the resettlement villages throughout 1951, as needed.

The opportunity offered by the evacuation camps was also taken 731 to introduce a few innovations which, it was thought, would improve 242 subsistence gardening in the resettlement villages. People were taught the cultivation of the variety of sweet potatoes mentioned above, as well as of corn, tomatoes and beans. Seeds and plants were supplied. An agricultural officer demonstrated on a large scale the growing of sweet potatoes and peanuts. In order to facilitate the rapid establish- [412] ment of gardens--which the government hoped would be bigger and better than the pre-eruption ones--small spades were distributed to villages. These small spades were not a familiar implement to the Orokaiva, but the agricultural officers thought they would be more efficient than the wooden implements and large shovels hitherto used in villages. These small spades cannot have taken on very well; I saw none in Sivepe or Inonda. I myself had brought a spade for the garden I established in Sivepe, but my neighbour, upon seeing it, at once supplied me with a grubber (ex-American army stock). A very brief acquaintance with the root structure of the garden weeds convinced me that a spade was indeed [227] of limited utility. Finally, in order to add to the supply of protein in the resettlement villages, the camp superintendent distributed some snorkels for catching fish.

Keesing reports there were fears in the camp that the eruption 731 would have destroyed taro seed stock, but this fear proved unfounded. 134 The taro plants remained perfectly healthy and the volcanic ash made the soil amazingly fertile for awhile, so that food shortages were quickly relieved.

Issue of Food: In the camps, rice, tinned meat, tobacco were distributed 731 according to a ration scheme based on the census figures. Each village constable was issued with rations for the number of people resident in 657 the villages under his control. These distributions were continued in

653 a council responsibility. While the rebuilding of the arterial road
from Popondetta and Kokoda was an expensive (and seemingly interminable)
[491] responsibility of the government, the side roads became the council's
responsibility. Similarly, the government built the major hospitals
while the council looked after the village aid posts.

652 The council's revenue mainly came from taxes--a head tax of
$8 for men and $1 for women. This is the only personal tax directly
levied among Orokaiva village people and has replaced the government
[687] head tax. Its collection was not a government but a council respon-
sibility, although defaulters could, of course, be brought before a
magistrate and sentenced to a term in a government jail. Councillors
explained to the villagers that the taxes they paid went to pay for
their roads, aid posts, water supplies, etc. The government hoped
that villagers would be more ready to pay their taxes if they could
see tangible local benefits to justify them. One effect of the system
was that villagers became very interested to see that as much as
possible of the tax money should be spent in their own locality. They
rapidly developed a strong propensity for parish-pump politics. When
I visited Sasembata district first, there was little evidence of any
council projects in the Sasembata wards. People objected to paying
[664] their taxes: they were not getting anything for them. Pressure
resulted in roading improvements and plans for a comprehensive water
supply for the area. Councillors who did not fight successfully for
such causes were liable to miss re-election.

The head tax manifestly acted as a significant economic incentive.
[461] A man who grew no coffee and earned no money could not pay his tax.
Even if a man could not be bothered harvesting all his coffee, he
would certainly harvest enough to pay his tax. Some men who had no
coffee took plantation jobs a month or two before the tax was due. I
noticed this in two cases at Inonda; most of the Sivepe men had coffee
[687] gardens and did not need to work outside. For the first time, tax
defaulters in 1966 were actually jailed for two months. In one village,
Kendata, there were as many as 50 defaulters who fought the police
and ran into the bush; in Sivepe there were four, all without coffee
gardens.

In spite of this tension, people generally supported the ideology
177 of the council: they wanted the "new age" and they wanted the kind
623 of services that were supplied by the council. At the same time it
was never forgotten that behind the tax-gathering councillors stood
the government police, armed and ready to make arrests if the councillors
were resisted or attached, as sometimes happened. Those who did not
pay and tried to escape arrests were judged by the conformists to be
ignorant men, unwisely looking for trouble. On the other hand, people
deeply sympathised with them. People wanted the "new age," but they
did not like the element of compulsion that went with it. They re-elected the councillors who compelled them because they held the
Australian authorities, not the councillors, to be directly responsible.

Section 5: Attitudes Towards Government

Orokaiva attitudes towards the government have three aspects
829 that must be carefully distinguished: attitudes to individual government
servants, to the power structure and to the values represented by the
563 government. As for attitudes to individual public servants, I have
no evidence for any change in attitudes. In a subtle way every white
man with whom Orokaiva come into contact is tested according to various
criteria: fairness, courtesy, willingness to reciprocate gifts and
services, willingness to eat with the people (a rare phenomenon,
this) and above all, his behaviour in the constant battle of wits
and inner strength in which Orokaiva delight. A man such as Mr. Kaad
who was a good man by all these tests, was remembered with much affection;
others, though excellent by the criteria of the Australian public
service, would be resented or soon forgotten.

The Orokaiva attitude to the power structure is determined by
657 a rather harsh history of earlier contacts, beginning with the murderous
177 régime of Monckton and culminating in the 1940's in the Japanese
conquest, the Allied re-conquest and the public execution of a small
band of Orokaiva who had sided with the Japanese. The welfare
orientation of the Australian government was perhaps never massively
demonstrated before the eruption of Mount Lamington. At the present
time this welfare orientation is well understood but the Orokaiva fear
the Australian power to compel their compliance. They use what
resources they have to keep this power within limits. They have found
that it is usually fruitless to disobey Australian commands openly,
but power can often be made ineffective if orders are misunderstood
or forgotten or evaded. Furthermore, it is a general rule among
Orokaiva to withhold information systematically from the taupa. It
took me some months to learn that even the simplest information I
had about the Orokaiva was often unknown to Europeans, not because
they were not interested but because nobody would tell them. On a
few occasions when an official asked me a question I would say that
any of his "driver-boys" (that was how they referred to their drivers)
could answer it and the official would answer: "Nobody will tell me.
They all say they don't know." This is indeed a potent weapon against
colonial administrators.

It would be wrong to assume that this attitude is directed
657 against Europeans in general, because there was great variation in
the treatment of individuals, and also, it is not directed against
177 the values Australians are trying to introduce. The avoidance of
communication is largely, I think, a device in the power struggle
between the colonial government and its subjects. The Orokaiva do
what they can to avoid being dominated. In this context, the setting
[623] up of local government councils was a great step forwards. The councillors
do not meet with the same communication bar because the people know
that they can control them through the electoral machinery. Hence it

657 is the councillors who are most effective at communicating whatever
they understand of European values and the Australians have been happy
623 to reduce direct contact with the people to formal dealings in which
● 177 intermediaries can definitely not be used. The Orokaiva say that it
is only since the council was set up that their thinking began to change.
While this is not to be believed, it would be correct to say that an
ideology of change developed only through the mediation of the councillors.
The humanitarian work done immediately after the eruption did not lead
to ideological change because it did not set up effective mediating
institutions.

797 this became the core of a new community. At the time of my arrival
the European mission sister had been replaced by a Papuan assistant
medical officer who, though from another tribal area, strengthened
the Papuan missionary group. There were ten teachers, a priest, a
deacon and the medical officer, together with their mostly large
[877] families--a population that must have been close to 100. Also on the
mission station were the boarding school students, adolescents from
various districts (their number was around 60), some of them related
[597] to the mission teachers. It was customary for the teachers to adopt
the children of relatives to be educated on the station under their
care. This further added to the Papuan mission station strength.

In this atmosphere the European staff, though indisputably in
797 command, were severely handicapped, as usual, by their lack of
177 information about what was really happening on the station. Not
infrequently, I was better informed about this than the head teacher,
because the station gossip would flow very easily into Sivepe whereas
the mission staff were careful not to tell the head, for fear of
inviting instructions they might not wish to obey. The big building
projects, such as the hospital, were organised without his knowledge;
the workers suddenly appeared and started work; after a few weeks
pulled down the building, not being satisfied with it, and started
again. They only approached the head when they wanted nails.

To the Orokaiva of the district, the real power struggle was not with the head but with the mission staff. This does not reflect on the head personally; indeed, shortly before my departure, he became a candidate in the Higaturu Council elections and was elected councillor for the ward which includes the mission station, on the votes of surrounding villagers. This very fact, however, indicates that he was not involved in the power rivalries surrounding the station; it was expected that he would be effective in negotiating with the council for water supplies, roading improvements and such like and that, being virtually a stranger, he would not upset existing power relations.

The power rivalries arose because the mission station Papuans regarded themselves as definitely superior to the villagers. The Notu-speakers especially thought of themselves as carriers of a higher culture than that of the Orokaiva--better dances, better loincloths, better headdresses, better pots, and above all, a long association with the mission during which their district had become altogether more civilised than the inland people. It was because the Orokaiva were ignorant that they had to depend on Notu mission teachers.

This boasting troubled the Orokaiva especially because it had some factual basis. Much present-day Orokaiva culture is borrowed from the coast and coastal art and technology is superior in sophistication. Gona was the birthplace of the Anglican mission of the Northern District; hence, the coast has produced a disproportionate number of priests and mission teachers, the most prominent of whom is the Bishop who is himself a Gona man. In these circumstances owners of land surrounding the mission station saw some risks in making

777 permanent gifts of land: the populous mission village, if granted a
permanent landed foothold, might well become excessively powerful and
177 even oppressive. As long as the missionaries had only temporary tenure,
their dependence on the villagers would always remain manifest.

No Orokaiva begrudged the mission teachers their special and high status derived from their office as teachers and preachers. While their duties were mostly with the school, they all gave occasional religious lessons in the villages. One teacher made such a visit to Sivepe nominally once a month, and always after there had been a serious village fight, thus helping the reconciliation of the combatants. There was an even more marked respect for the priest, deacon and AMO. This respect was expressed, for instance, when the village trade store at Sasembata villages, which usually operated on a fairly strict cash basis, was willing to give credit to mission teachers. (Regrettably, some proved slow payers.) There was also a convention whereby fights were promptly stopped when a mission teacher appeared and asked the combatants to stop. (The same taboo exists against fighting in the presence of cross-cousins of the category known as simbo.)

The coastal immigrants, however, aspired in addition to a
[535] general cultural ascendance. As one example of this, they liked to introduce among the Orokaiva their coastal dances and songs. The Orokaiva were avid pupils (as their culture history suggests they have been long before the days of Christianity). At the big dance held at the mission station in June, 1967, at least two entirely new dances, both of coastal origin, were introduced, one by the women of Sivepe and Kongohambo, and one by men and women from Waseta. In both cases, the teachers were missionaries from the coast. In both cases, the dance had never previously been seen in Orokaiva territory.

A significant source of power for the mission settlement was its indispensable role in the containment of quarrels not only within but also between villages. Sports matches tended to lead to fights, but they tended to be far more peaceful if they were held on the mission station. This was a place where people had to repress their anger. During my stay at Sivepe, several attempts were made to play matches in the village, but after two serious fights, people agreed with the priest's suggestion to play on the station in future.

Section 2: A Case History: Women's Organisations and the Mission

575 The following brief description of women's organisations in
the Sasembata area, and especially Sivepe, will illustrate the general
propositions concerning mission-village relationships set out in the
[593] previous section. There are no traditional women's organisations among
the Orokaiva, though the women do certainly at times act as a solidary
[626] group in village affairs, especially when a husband is seen maltreating
his wife. The other women will then club together with the wronged

794 yet been completed (which was true) and that these ought to have
priority. The women then became impatient; after which they explained
575 to me that the women had talked to them insolently and they had told
578 them to build the house themselves (which was a male task; it would
have been unthinkable that women would have dared to do it). The
628 same men devoted most of the following two months on building the
mission hospital, so that their explanation did not hold water. The
[462] most likely explanation is that the men felt disinclined to build a
clubhouse that was clearly going to be a source of conflict between
themselves, the mission and other villages, such as Sasembata. They
probably stopped work mainly in order to see whether the conflict would
blow over and when their own women started to importune them, lost no
time in withdrawing. I base this explanation more on attitudes observed
at the time than on explicit informants' statements which were very
guarded at this early stage of my research. (All this happened in
our first month in Sivepe.) Basketball and meetings meanwhile continued
at Sivepe, and sewing continued quietly at the pastor's house. The
club was busy making uniforms for the basketball team. The next stage
of the transactions between the station and Sivepe was much more
subtle.

About three months before our departure from Sivepe, a mission
535 teacher told me that his wife intended to teach Sivepe women a coastal
[123] women's initiation dance called the kere. This, he suggested,
would be in our honour. My wife at once expressed much interest in
[177] joining in this dance. Nothing happened, of course, during lent but
on April 1, the first week after Easter, the village fell dead silent
early in the evening, everyone pretended to go to bed, the women slunk
away somewhere and late at night all the women appeared dressed in
white tapa cloths and tarpaulins, clearly impersonating spirits and
performing a vigorous but most eerie dance, while all the men at first
stayed indoors and the village remained otherwise in total silence.
[534] I even heard a flute, a highly sacred instrument which everybody
continued to pretend was never played. The next evening the same
performance was repeated; I then heard in conversations not intended
for my ears that these dancers were the embahi (spirits). On the third
day it was intimated to my wife that she might join. The "practises"
(as they were now called) continued, though my wife never actually
heard the flutes when she was dancing. After more than two months of
almost daily practise, the kere was performed in public at the mission
station, its character having been gradually transformed from a rite
into a dramatic representation. Nonetheless, a careful observer could
see elements of initiation ritual at all stages.

At all these practises, the mission teacher sat and watched
794 at the centre of the stage. His wife played the role of the teacher;
575 later, she asked an older woman, an expert from her natal village, to
take over the leadership. The clearest sign of the continuing status
578 battle was in the unending arguments on where the practises were to
be held. Sivepe insisted they should be in the village but the station

794 women who had joined the group favoured another site: a small settlement
very close to Sivepe and the mission station and affiliated with
575 Sasembata village. They never suggested the "practises" should be
578 held in the station. Indeed, although they proceeded night after
night, usually from about 10:00 p.m. until well after midnight, the
head teacher did not know about them almost until the end, until he
drove home late one night and heard something (he did not know what)
from the road. Some nights there was no practise because the two
sides could not agree on a site. The men seemed to be somewhat
irritated by the constant presence of a mission teacher in the village,
in a conspicuous role of authority, over their own women. They countered
by complaints about the "noise" which made it impossible for them to
sleep. This made it easier for the Sivepe women to agree to practise
in the next settlement, though they also practised near the house of
one of the village dancing leaders who lived away from the complaintants
and was sympathetic to the kere. In the end, the usual split did occur:
the mission women did not actually dance with the group from Sivepe
and Sasembata village, but pulled out and formed a second kere party
together with Kongohambo women, under the leadership of the deacon's
wife, who also knew this dance. Both parties performed in the final
performance at the mission station.

These events definitely show the mission station as a cultural force, quite independently of the mission teachers' ecclesiastical or schoolmasterly role. Sivepe was willing to offer the mission station a certain amount of compliance, in return for the valued knowledge that was being supplied, but fought--with success--against the mission station's attempt to use to the occasion to place the village in a position of socio-political subservience.

Section 3: The Mission and Traditional Religion

The Orokaiva attitude to Christianity is a complex subject
771 which I intend to treat more fully elsewhere and falls somewhat outside
776 the concern of our present project. It is very clear that some basic
notion of Christian montheism have not been accepted by the Orokaiva,
777 such as for instance the notion of God's omnipotence. Orokaiva
Christians believe in the existence of God and in His infinite power,
but He is viewed as an addition to other powers, Who is hostile to some
of these other powers, but not necessarily to others. I was told that
a person ought to give up black magic after baptism, but informants
dismissed my suggestion that Christianity was also opposed to curing
magic. No curing magician ever ceased practising when he was baptised.

I have referred several times to the tendency to place ancient
777 ritual under the protection, so to speak, of the new God. Rituals
[788] connected with the taro cycle were performed at Christmas and Eastertime,
perferably on the mission station. While the beliefs about the ghosts
[775]

177 of the dead remained basically unchanged, Christian burial rites
[775] and cemeteries are generally used in the belief that they are
efficacious in controlling ghosts. Girls were "shown to the people"
[764] after initiation, preferably on the mission station during the Easter
dances. The kere which was a women's initiation dance, was also
[881] performed on a mission occasion (the celebration of St. Barnabas Day,
in honour of the patron saint of this station).

What was the motive of mission teachers introducing a new form
881 of initiation ritual to the Orokaiva? This extramural activity,
177 performed in the dead of night, signified a little more than the
intertribal status rivalry analysed earlier in this chapter. The
[533] text of the songs gives no obvious clues to their significance at the
present time. Though it was made up of at least four or five languages,
due to diffusion of the cycle through the Northern District, I managed
to collect a translation of most of it during a tour of Port Moresby
when we visited knowledgeable members of various Musa River tribes.
The songs evoke a series of phases in a woman's life, stating symbolically
her role in initiation, courtship, marriage, childbearing and feasting.
They are very rich in symbolic content which is not relevant here. But
they contain no message that can be related to any modern millennial
or cargo cult. During a visit to Uiaku, in the Collingwood Bay district,
my wife found that the old women in that village knew the songs but
not the younger ones. This points to diffusion from the Musa to the
Collingwood Bay district some decades ago. All this evidence confirms
the mission teacher's own explanation given to me that he introduced
this cycle in order to keep old traditions alive, in order to give more
strength to the younger generation which had not been properly initiated.

I was impressed by the strong religious sentiment displayed by
881 the performers especially in the very first dances. They might at that
177 time be doubtful about dance movements and words but not about the
demeanour appropriate to the impersonation of spirits. At the very
781 first practise, even the young girls knew the right bearing, intonation
and rhythm. This was not truly the introduction of an alien ritual;
the purpose and the strategy could not have been more familiar.

The involvement of my wife in this initiatory ritual helped to
771 lend it the ambiguity that was evidently intended. It was not the
177 purpose of the mission teacher to set up this pagan ritual in opposition
to Christianity but rather to bring about its continuity in a Christian
797 order. I have already shown in earlier chapters that the Christian
dispensation is conceived as not only a religious but also and importantly
a socio-economic one--that Christianity, wealth and wage labour are
perceived as part of the same complex. If it can be made to accommodate
women's initiation ceremonies (after jettisoning, of course, those
aspects to which the clergy takes exception) future generations will
have the strength of the forefathers. This desire for greater
strength, in a physical and numerical as well as spiritual sense,
was often expressed to me.

361 bende--"side" of a village. The term da is applied to the total set
of houses built in a single jungle clearing. The layout of a da
621 usually resembles that given in Maps V-VIII.[A] There is an empty space
in the centre, which is faced by houses, usually arranged in something
[364] like parallel rows. The centre is called araha. In the traditional
village there is an area, immediately surrounding the da which is
given over to sorcery and where the rubbish is thrown. This is called
isapa, a word also meaning "small" and it is indeed only a narrow
strip, outside which the village gardens begin. The word da is applied
equally to a large village and to a settlement of two or three houses,
as long as it has the features mentioned. The house or bande, if it
is a permanent dwelling, is part of a da and mostly is placed on one
of the two sides or rows (bende), though as the village plans show,
houses are also built to complete the rectangle.

The ridgepole of a house tends to be erected along the line
361 made by the row or bende. The floor plan is rectangular, as shown in
342 Diagram XII.[B] The long side of the rectangle faces the araha and the
door is usually in front in the centre. The house tends to be divided
into two halves, a front half and a back half, the division being a
wall built directly below the ridgepole. The front half tends to be
a space where people sit and talk and where visitors come in the
evenings, while the back half, containing the sleeping rooms, is
rather more private and not usually for visitors. The back portion is
often divided into two separate rooms. I have already referred briefly
to some buildings that are not residences: the small ceremonial meeting
places that are called arara in Sivepe, jataka in Hohorita or by either
name in Inonda; the lavatories, the chickencoops (very often, indeed,
the same structure); the feasthouses and visitors' sun shelters, which
are temporary; and the women's club houses which are a novelty. None
of these are usually placed in the regular rows, though sometimes
meeting places are built next to the house of the owner.

Villages are rather compact, the houses being built at a
361 distance of nine yards, and this distance is precisely measured in the
[177] Australian spirit of military regularity. Everyone is always within
easy shouting distance of everyone else; nothing in the village goes
unheard, unobserved. The two "sides" are under constant observation
of one another. Movement between the houses of one side is much less
conspicuous, however, than the act of crossing the araha to go to
the other side. One never does this unless one has a serious reason.
Movement between houses of the same side occurs continuously for
ordinary gossip.

Inonda formed one da after some battles early in the century
361 (Crocombe and Hogbin, 1963: 14-15); at the time of the eruption there
731 was one da with 48 people and the village stayed together, with a slight
decline in population (to 45 in 1962 and 41 in 1967) and a decline in
628 the number of houses from 12 in 1950 to eight in 1962 and seven in
1967. When the Sewa people joined Inonda after the eruption, they did
not actually, according to informants, live in the same village as the

A [See Cat. 116, pp. End Map 5-End Map 7--Analyst]
B [See Cat. 116, pp. End Map 11(A)-End Map 11(B)--Analyst]

361 villages (Garombi, Soroputa, Hohorita). When New Sivepe was built it
had become a familiar procedure and was simply copied from other villages.
614 It is an interesting adaptive institution, and the Orokaiva answer to
616 Australian pressure towards the building of multi-clan villages.

Belshaw clearly stated the problem that was involved: "How far
[177] was the earlier hamlet system the result of tendencies towards
violence and strife in the society, and to what extent will such
tendencies be overcome or intensified by the new arrangements?"
(1951: 246) It can now be seen that diametric structure was the Orokaiva answer to this danger of violence and strife. While affines were separated by the araha, the araha was widened so it could be used as a playing field, as happened at Sivepe but by no means in all the villages.

614 Rimoldi classified the Jegase clan into four lineages (Berekipa,
Sesewopa, Arehu, Bebehupa) and one extinct lineage (Hambai). He
613 further distinguished two Timupu lineages (Hajejopa, Pekuma), which
should now be added to the Jegase list. Certainly, each of these six groups have common plant emblems not shared by the others; the lineages are therefore each part of a distinctive plant emblem group. Families of the same plant emblem group make no particular efforts to reside close together; the social functions of "lineage" are mutual assistance and close solidarity. The importance of the concept of "lineage" varies from clan to clan; while Jegase has this relatively long list of lineage names, Seho has no such list. Conversely, while Jegase has no common ancestor upon which all members of the clan are agreed, Seho has a human eponymous ancestor about whom a myth is told. Seho also has a totem animal (Garo = wallaby) while Jegase is actually the name of the totem animal recognised by all its members. It is a small flying insect present in great numbers around the taro leaves. It is possible, however, to classify Seho according to groups which share plant emblems and investigation shows that both clans equally are the result of fairly recent fusions; the lineages or plant emblem groups, however, are of somewhat greater antiquity. I saw evidence of the creation of new plant emblems and of the dying off of old plant emblems, so that even the plant emblems do not survive indefinitely. But Orokaiva rightly regard the plant emblem as sign of a relationship of greater antiquity, for clan allegiance can be changed in a day whereas the plant emblem group can always be traced back beyond human memory, i.e., beyond 50 years or so.

Inonda, in the same period, has developed in the direction of
621 a one-clan village. In 1951, out of 12 households, eight were of the
614 Andiriha clan and three of Jego'undi. In 1966, the wife in this
remaining household had died and the widower, with his four children, moved into an Andiriha household. As in Sivepe, many of the people now calling themselves Andiriha were not born with that clan name, but took it after settling in Inonda. Crocombe and Hogbin divided the Andiriha local clan group of Inonda into four "lineages," for which they quoted, in each case, a single plant emblem (1963: 17). They

114 kind enough to show me this study in manuscript, I shall utilise it
here. The general question with which Mr. Waddell is concerned is
464 whether earlier students of societies depending on shifting agriculture
are right in saying that such societies, at least in fertile regions,
[166] have a considerable potential labour surplus. He proceeds to argue
that, in the light of detailed data on the use of time in Sivepe, what
[167] potential labour surplus there might once have been has already been
taken up by labour migration of male adults (which, for his sample, he
puts at 37.8%). Waddell takes issue with Fisk (1962: 465) who defines
economic activity as comprising only the production of food, clothing
and shelter, and argues that, given the existing socio-economic matrix,
all the other activities listed on his time charts (see Table 5)[A]
should be regarded as economic because they buy status and security.
[412] He also takes issue with Salisbury (1962: 216-20) who proposes that
[461] the change from a stone-to-steel technology in the New Guinea Highlands
has resulted in a saving of two-thirds in the time allocated to specified
axe-using tasks and who concludes from this that a vast potential labour
surplus is thus created. Waddell shows, by a quantitative study of
the allocation of time within activities, that only 38.5% of the time
allocated to an activity is actually given over to the main task, and
even if one includes ancilliear, and other productive tasks, this
raises the proportion to less than 50% of the total time devoted to
that activity. (See Table 17.)[B] As steel implements are used for only
a portion of productive tasks, they did not, Waddell argues, make a
crucial difference to Orokaiva work patterns.

114 If at the time of Mr. Waddell's study (1964), the potential
464 labour surplus in Sivepe was small, how was it possible to fit in such
new additional activities as the growing of coffee? Mr. Waddell was
461 in an excellent position to discover this as at the time of his survey
241 seven of 15 households surveyed engaged in cash-cropping; he was therefore
able to inquire how this affected the time spent on subsistence food
production. As it happened, the median time spent on subsistence
gardening by the whole sample equalled precisely the median time
spent by the cash-cropping households. (12.6 hours per week, vide
his Table 5:5) It appears from the table I derived from Mr. Waddell
(my Table 17) how the cash-cropping families fit in this extra work:
they spend a great deal less time having rests and meals. While non-
cash croppers allocate only 28.4% of the time within activities to
their main task, the cash-croppers allocate 50.6%. Though Mr. Waddell
gives interesting explanations which account for part of this discrepancy,
even if full allowance is made for these, the fact remains uncontestably
that the cash-croppers simply work harder.

Mr. Waddell proceeds to show, by a detailed psychological
114 assessment of the cash-cropping individuals, that they are indeed the
241 most acculturated and industrious members of the community. This
seems to suggest a considerable heterogeneity in working habits as
177 between the members of the community. The author clearly shows this
heterogeneity to exist as between the sexes and between different age

A,B [See Cat. 116, pp. 209-210, 223-224, respectively--Analyst]

114 groups, and I shall return to this aspect. In addition, however, a
considerable weight is placed upon the difference between individual
177 dispositions. I would suggest that in this respect, Mr. Waddell may
have put too much confidence in the results of a synchronic study and
241 it is fortunate that another investigator (myself) was able to observe
the community at a time when coffee growing had become a general
activity. Regrettably, I did not collect quantitative data of the
same scope as Mr. Waddell.

177 I shall anticipate later chapters by suggesting here, that
differences in level of acculturation in Sivepe never go very deep.
Certainly, it is always the same minority of relatively acculturated
people who are willing to risk making innovations. This applies to
the introduction of European styles of clothing, of radios, kerosene
lamps, sending children to school regularly, being baptised, building
lavatories and also to the growing of coffee and the planting of the
improved Malayan rubber trees. All these things are always done first
by a few pioneers, and usually the same pioneers. The basis upon which
these people become pioneers is usually a relatively shallow contact
with western civilisation. Mostly, the new skills, activities and
other introductions they sponsor are not so far ahead of the rest of
the community that a swing of local fashion cannot make them universal
or almost universal properties. There was no evidence of a widening
social and economic gap between acculturated and unacculturated
families; there was a gap, but it always remained small (at least,
so far). The pioneers tried innovations; the conservatives held back
until they saw the innovations succeed, as happened by no means always.
Then, one, two or five years later, the conservatives followed the
[461] progressives. Thus, the activity pattern Waddell observed among the
progressives is now much closer to the general norm. The people
themselves feel sure that today they work harder and rest less than
they used to do. The rest periods I observed were shorter than those
measured by Waddell in 1964.

433 Nonetheless, I would support his main contention that the work
day of the cash-croppers of Sivepe today cannot be greatly lengthened,
461 nor productivity greatly increased, unless ways can be found to make
work more efficient by technological and other innovations. I have
241 already suggested that a degree of collectivisation would permit the
introduction of some labour-saving machinery and better transport
114 facilities. Mr. Waddell makes two further suggestions which need
brief discussion.

The first of these is interesting because it questions an assumption that has been almost universally accepted in the literature on shifting cultivation. He argues that the shift from Old to New Sivepe did not actually reduce travelling time from village to garden but in fact lengthened it. He quotes detailed figures to prove this. Village locations, therefore, are not actually being chosen by Orokaiva by criteria of economic rationality, but on wholly non-economic grounds. If this were true, we would need to re-examine whether other societies

114 affairs, but gives all his declining energies to his garden, keeping as close as possible to the productive level of his better years. He 887 draws closer and closer to his garden where his spirit will dwell after death. Apart from the garden, he becomes remote from most things; [888] his days of household duties, hunting, fishing, building are over. He will, however, make dancing ornaments and weapons and headdresses which [775] again lie close to the spirit realm. (I have quoted Waddell's statistical evidence for these tendencies in Table 18.)[A]

How did culture change influence the division of labour between 462 the sexes? For the traditional productive activities, there has 241 probably been hardly any change. I have quoted a table of exclusively masculine and feminine activities collected by Williams in 1923, and [177] hitherto unpublished (Table 19).[B] Certain tasks of importance were omitted from this list, which may explain why Williams did not publish it. Sago making was probably always a male activity; so was the use of the digging stick preparatory to planting taro and yam. The harvesting of taro was probably always a specifically feminine task; there is clearly a taboo on men against harvesting taro. Even bachelors never do it but must leave it to his mother, his sister or his brother's wife. If men did it, I was told, they would not "know how" and they would never manage to eke out the crop until the next harvest. This did not apply to the harvesting of other crops. When Williams classified "planting" as a feminine task, he was probably thinking of the actual placing of the cuttings in the ground, though I have seen men as well as women do this.

In the Orokaiva view both man and woman are repositories of 462 capacities and resources specific to themselves; the relationship 562 between man and woman is the giving of exchange (mine ari) of the contributions of each. Man views woman as an equal exchange partner and this equality is real even though the care over legal and political matters is a distinctively masculine contribution. In the new activities [177] introduced since European contact the same balance is preserved. Some new duties (e.g., the washing of clothes) were added to the specifically feminine preserve, church work and the purchasing of goods became a predominantly masculine preserve (as is attested by Waddell's statistics). The harvesting of rubber, taught exclusively to men on the plantations, became an exclusively male activity. On the other hand, the bulk of cash producing activities (working for pay, maintaining, harvesting and processing of coffee) were shared.

One interesting observation made by Waddell and confirmed by 462 me is that most marketing of subsistence crops is done by the women [241] whereas marketing of coffee is done by the men. The handling of harvested crops is normally a woman's prerogative. These are normally [415] carried in large string bags which only married women can own and hang over their heads. While the casual European observer supposes that the [482] women carrying these large bags are reduced to the status of beasts of burden, these bags signify the women's exlusive power over the crop; the fuller they are, the prouder the women are of them. Thus, only

A,B [See Cat. 116, pp. 225, 226, respectively--Analyst]

462 women can carry produce to market. Coffee, however, is in a different
[562] category because the bags are of a special type, supplied by the coffee
[422] factory and a specifically male property.

Section 3: Education, Occupational Skills, Money Income

241 In the last section, dealing with the division of labour, I
did not introduce the question whether there were differences in this
613 respect between the various social groups--lineages and clans. The
614 main differentiation noted by earlier authors was that between cash-
croppers and those engaging only in subsistence gardening. Now in this
respect there was no noticeable difference between clans in Sivepe:
out of 1,100 coffee trees growing in Sivepe in 1962, 503 belonged to
Jegase and Timumu and the rest to Seho, while in Inonda the coffee
growers belonged to two Andiriha lineages. In Sivepe today most men
grow coffee, and this applies equally to the Jegase, Seho and Sorovi
clans; the exceptions are elderly people. There are, however, very
significant differences in other respects between socio-economic
patterns in the Jegase and Seho clans--differences which are obvious
even on very superficial inquiry.

614 A minor imbalance in the age distribution of the two clans is
noticed at once from the statistics: the Jegase householders are
561 predominantly in the 35-45 year age group whereas Seho is predominantly
[535] a little older (45-55 years). Hence the dance group formed in Sivepe
is at present almost wholly composed of men of the Jegase clan. The
[177] age difference happens to be very significant in various indices of
acculturation, as the first school was established at Sasembata in
[891] 1945, and the custom of looking for wage labour outside the district
did not become widespread until about the same time. While some Jegase
[167] people know some English, none of the Seho people over 35 speak any
at all. Furthermore, the first village constable and the first councillor
[191] in Sivepe were both Jegase men who had taken up employment well before
the second world war. During the years they held these posts (1939-
1965), Seho had much less contact with government.

The statistics (Table 20)[A] show that Jegase male adults have
614 slightly more school education than Seho adults but a great deal more
463 occupational experience. This experience, for both clans, did not
include work requiring much formal training; it was labour on rubber
and cocoa plantations, on the roads, assistance with land surveys,
[177] laundry work, service as a "houseboy," and in the A.P.C. Nonetheless,
an intelligent man thrown into these kinds of situation can find out
a good deal about the outside world; in later dealings with external
agencies, he is able to make more informed judgments. A further
opportunity for such experience was offered the Jegase clan when the
Australian National University, which made Sivepe into a sample village
for several studies (see below, Chapter VII), decided to concentrate

[A] [See Cat. 116, p. 227--Analyst]

614 its efforts upon what were then the Jegase and Timumu clans, to the
463 exclusion of Seho. When my wife and I came to Sivepe, Jegase at once
177 claimed us, built our house for us and was ready to perpetuate the
123 familiar "special relationship" before I had a chance to assess the
situation.

In terms of economic development, this extra experience of
Jegase did not actually make much difference. Seho grew just as much
614 coffee; the Seho clan leader was always in the vanguard for innovations
177 such as the Malayan rubber trees; Seho had about as much money income
as Jegase, except that Jegase received more cheques from town workers
184 married to locally resident women. It must be remembered that the
educational background of the Jegase men was still rather limited and
insufficient to open up the more remunerative avenues of employment.
The younger generation of Seho was just as well educated as the younger
generation of Jegase; in fact, the only person to have reached Form II
was a Seho boy whose father had no schooling but a few years' work
experience before marriage.

Finally, the leader of the Seho clan (without schooling, but
614 with brief experience in the A.P.C. before the eruption) made up in
shrewdness what he lacked in facility. Europeans who had dealings
157 with Sivepe over land and other issues found him atough and calculating
negotiator who knew as well as anyone how to safeguard the interests
of his village and press for whatever blessings of the modern age might
become available. As "committee" for Sivepe, he was a stern champion
of village decorum. I have seen several other villages which vowed
to eliminate pigs, but in these villages one could usually still find
a very tiny piglet, so small you could hardly see it, which signified
the hardiness of the old dispensation; in Sivepe, one only saw dead
pigs. He would have no weeds, no houses out of alignment, no late
noise; whatever the Australians chose to define as the spirit of
progress, was strictly enforced by this leader.

The younger people are mostly going as far as they can (up to
871 Standard 6) at Sasembata School; so far only one has gone further.
614 One young man, who had finished Standard 6 and a young woman who had
done Standard 4, but was intellectually brilliant were regarded in the
184 village as the educated élite; both were just above 20 years of age.
They were both from Jegase households; they both helped us considerably
as interpreters. It is likely that the Sasembata school produced
others as competent, but they would have left for jobs elsewhere.

I have already pointed out that in Inonda there was less homogeneity.
184 One man was markedly more educated than anyone in Sivepe; nearly all
had been away on paid employment for long periods (longer than at
Sivepe). The educated leader, attracting to himself other men with
some education, was able to act as a kind of entrepreneur and thus two
different patterns of life became established, emphasised by the
persisting neglect of cash-cropping by one section. Two young and
vigorous men who might well have grown coffee prefer to depend for
cash on temporary plantation jobs.

184 The difference in pattern between the two villages may well be
explainable by the influence of the improved schooling and the close
177 contact with the mission station found in Sivepe, in common with many
of the other resettlement villages. These improved facilities may to
some extent be regarded as social consequences of the eruption, as they
were developed in the resettlement villages in the wake of resettlement
to replace the earlier facilities at Sangara.

Money income has risen rapidly since the war. About the time
434 of the eruption, six of the present inhabitants of Sivepe were away
184 on jobs outside the village. Not only are far more Sivepe people
absent today on wage work, but the village itself has a steady income.
At the time of Rimoldi's study, his sample was said to have spent
annually $410 while its income for 1962 totalled $328 or $28 per
household. Today this has risen greatly; the 14 coffee gardens, with
over 4,000 trees, produced some 6,000 pounds of coffee, worth in all
about $1,000; gifts from absent wage-earners over the year totalled
at least $500 and other income (paid work, sale of products, etc.)
at least $200. This makes up a minimal total of $1,700 or an average
of $60 per household. I would not be surprised if actual total income
was as high as $2,000 but it is very hard to obtain reliable facts.
There is no doubt, however, that the coffee gardens have made Sivepe
substantially wealthier, while in Inonda only the government driver
has substantially improved his position since 1962, when Inonda's
average household income from paid work, produce and gifts was
[465] 833 p.a. (Crocombe and Hogbin, p. 53). The government driver's regular
salary of about $700 p.a. stands out in both villages.

CHAPTER IV: Acculturation at the Time of Resettlement

177 My concern in this chapter is not to discuss acculturation in general, which has been done already in earlier chapters, but to consider the variations in degree of acculturation that existed between individuals and groups in the sample villages. This is an issue of some importance as the main line of change has not been so much that wholly new culture elements were introduced between 1951 and the present (though there were some of these, too) but that culture elements accepted by an élite in 1951 have become generally accepted today, while other elements again are now in the stage of being accessible to an élite of the younger generation.

There are many innovations which can be adopted by Orokaiva only on a village basis. I have already referred to the changes in house design; such changes were never made individually, though less conspicuous changes (the use of nails rather than bark twine) may be [881] made by an individual. The abandonment of initiation ceremonies can likewise occur only on the basis of a corporate decision. At Sivepe they were abandoned after the war; on the other hand, girls' puberty seclusion and the subsequent ostentatious "coming out party" continued. Also, male initiation was widely replaced by a custom called a "birthday party" which was given to every boy of the age of nine or ten. [583] Similarly, the inclusion of money in bridewealth is an innovation which, once made in a homogeneous community, is bound to become standard [436] practise. In Sivepe the first such payment was amassed in 1950 and the median payment has been $24 since, without much upward trend, while in Inonda the leading family raised the rate well above this.

On the other hand, much change was the result of individual decisions which were gradually followed by enough individuals to make them into a change of general norm. Thus, girls' puberty seclusion used to last from three to six months; today, it often lasts no longer than three weeks while in Inonda, I was told, it is still shorter. In Sivepe, girls are usually still at school when the first menses begin. The Australian school teacher was most disturbed about the mysterious disappearance of his senior girls at this time and their dubious excuses when they returned to school, which however they did not always do. Until I told him, he did not fully realise that puberty seclusion was still practised in the villages; nobody had told him as they feared he might try to stamp out this custom. Some individuals keep their daughters secluded for months, even today.

797 At the time of the eruption no baptisms had yet occurred at Inonda, and only one, as far as I can find out, in Sivepe--and this 788 man settled at Agenahambo later after a failed marriage. For the Inonda people, the nearest school was at Seva, and one boy (now the
871

871 government driver) had gone there and continued at Martyr's school at
Sangara. He survived because the mountain erupted during the school
holidays. At Sivepe, some children had started going to the Jasembata
school, opened in 1945, but attendance was irregular. Nonetheless,
there were few people under 30 in 1966, who had not had some schooling.

177 Goods such as meat, sugar, tobacco were known in Sivepe at the
time of the eruption, and bought in trade stores; some people used
[262] European pots and others used clay pots. By 1966, all regular production
of clay pots in Sivepe had ended; they were not even included ceremonially
[263] in bridewealth. It was always the young men, away on labouring jobs,
[276] who introduced the innovations in material culture, who brought their
mothers and new wives European pots, who came home flaunting European
[415] clothes, who first used nails in building their houses. In Inonda, at
the time of the eruption, the young men were already wearing "trousers";
[291] in Sivepe, this came later, at the time of the local government council.
In both villages, this same association was stressed: the European
cloths were accepted for village wear at the time the council started
and the example was set not only by the bachelors returning from town but
also by the councillors themselves. There was a councillor resident
in both villages in the years immediately following 1956; it was their
influence that tipped the balance in dress innovation.

At the time of the eruption, cash cropping had not yet started
245 at all in Sivepe, but at Inonda, one man (the father of the present
177 government driver) was already selling coffee for which he was paid
$3 per bag by the government. The government also bought copra from
him which he prepared by breaking up coconuts and drying them in a
fire. He stopped this trade at the time of the eruption but resumed
in 1954. In Sivepe, coffee growing started in 1956 on two "company"
plots. It was in other words a community activity rather than a case
of individual entrepreneurship. Rimoldi (1966: 84) reports that
individual coffee gardens started in 1957 only after patrol officers
advised against having jointly operated ones.

191 It is not easy to say just how much linguistic knowledge had
been absorbed before the eruption, or even now. If one asks a man
what languages he knows, he lists all those he has had contact with
on his travels; always Motu, not infrequently Pidgin, and also often
an assortment of New Guinea languages marking the spots where he has
worked. Wherever a man works, he learns some of the language, but
his knowledge rarely passes exacting tests. Orokaiva men who said
they knew Aiga could not actually translate the Aiga texts I taped
into Orokaiva. It would be most interesting to do research on the
actual knowledge of these Papuan polyglots. In a country where so
many languages are spoken, communication between persons with different
177 vernacular is a crucial process. There is no doubt that travelling
Orokaiva make a great effort to adapt themselves to the regions they
visit. If they have personal contact with their employers, they learn
a great deal from them too. From the data I have presented it is plain
that travel has been the major accultural influence among the Orokaiva.

177 It is always the individuals who have travelled who are responsible
for innovations either by setting a personal example or by persuading
the community.

I have not yet referred to the deepest acculturative influence
657 that was absorbed before the time of the eruption, namely the abolition
177 of inter-village warfare. Pacification had effects in all aspects of
culture: the kinship system, economic, religion, politics. It would
take a full monograph to trace these manifold effects satisfactorily.
The other major change of the early colonisation period, the introduction
of steel tools, was the subject of a recent book by Salisbury. I
have already pointed out that Waddell does not accept for the Orokaiva
Salisbury's thesis that the introduction of steel tools liberated a
vast amount of leisure time thus bringing many luxuries within reach
of the people. Waddell points out that the time now spent on cash
cropping is about equal to the time gained by the use of steel tools.

It is useful, however, to consider more broadly what have been
the effects of, not only the technological changes, but also the
political and ideological ones. By 1951, the Orokaiva had learned
and--in the ward of the 40's--rediscovered the magnitude of white power
and the need to respect it. They had also learned how vast were the
resources of white power and to what extent some of these resources
could suddenly become available to the Orokaiva, as happened during
the American army operations. They had seen that congenial relations
with white people were possible in certain circumstances, as during the
[556] war. The acquisition of wealth and power comparable to that of the
white people had become a generally recognised objective. Only the
[484] means by which this end could be achieved were still obscure. The
Orokaiva therefore began to value highly any opportunity to travel,
to observe the white man and his ways and those who had travelled
were accepted in the village as persons knowledgeable as to the means
of pursuing wealth and power.

[731] Developments since 1951 provided increasing opportunities for
gathering this knowledge. The evacuation camps and resettlement
villages provided precisely the kind of experience for which the
Orokaiva had been searching. If the eruption had occurred two decades
earlier, the response to European relief measure would not have been
so prompt and cooperative. Somehow the experiences of the 1940's,
with the rapid influx of foreign goods, the opening up of employment
opportunities after the war, the establishment of numerous village
schools had made the Australian rulers appear less threatening and
stimulated a desire for further contact which was apparent in Orokaiva
reactions to Australian post-eruption policies.

CHAPTER VI: Addition and Loss of Community Members

161 Though the population of Sivepe has increased between the years 1951 and 1967, this increase is less than might have been expected after the settling in Sivepe of two additional Jegase families and [166] six Sorovi households. An analysis of Table 16[A] will show that the net population increase in 16 years corresponds very closely to the increase due to the immigration of 15 Jegase and 26 Sorovi people into Sivepe. The 1951 figures showed 40 children who, today, should range between the ages of 17 to 35; 15 of these were boys. Looking at the present Sivepe population, we find only six men of that age group and only three of these were children in Sivepe in 1951 (the other three are immigrants). This depletion of the 17-35 year age group is one of the most strking features of the present population structure.

The second striking change is in the number of children--there are almost twice as many of them in Sivepe today as there were in 1951. [758] It seems likely that this increase should in part at last be due to the improved health services: the monthly clinics, with the possibility [165] of immediate referral of young children to the Saiho hospital, do save 167 a number of lives, even if the mortality rate is still high.

The migration of young women into and out of Sivepe is a 166 continuous process due to virilocal residence; a far more significant [591] demographic process is the outflow of men as a result of labour migration. [464] Rimoldi reported that ten male siblings and sons of householders of his (Jegase-Timumu) sample were employed outside Sivepe in 1962; in 1966, I found that this figure had risen to 12. I have only included men who had been residents of Sivepe and who had left, as adults, to find work. By this criterion, it would not be possible to class absent brothers and sons of Sorovi men as "labour migrants from Sivepe," as these men had never lived in Sivepe at any time but had [614] been residents of Garombi before they became labour migrants. There were, at the time of the survey, no labour migrants of the Seho clan. [177] The fact that Jegase had many labour migrants while Seho had not even one certainly accentuated the relative dearth of contact with the outside world that characterised Seho. On the other hand, we should not read too much significance into it. It so happened that the Seho men came from very small families; most of them actually had no adult brothers living, and though they had many children, the only adult children they had happened to be girls. Thus they collected a disproportionate amount of bridewealth but could not contribute much to the external labour market. The Seho men were not actually as cut off from the world as these statistics might suggest: all had sisters' sons and sisters' husbands, real or classificatory, who were labour migrants; two had themselves been labour migrants earlier in life. In

A [See Cat. 116, p. 225--Analyst]

CHAPTER VII: The Role of Mediators in Development

Section 1: Expatriates

I have referred, right through this report, to certain individuals
121 who seemed to play a key role in development. The study of these key
[128] individuals can be adequately carried out only if there is some team
work, preferably in the field, with the cooperation of a psychologist.
My own approach in this chapter is wholly impressionistic and probably
of little scientific utility. Nonetheless, the phenomenon of the
mediator, who often appears in a crucial role in situations where
values of a newly dominant culture are being transmitted to the newly
dominated, is an important object of study in a sociologically oriented
177 analysis of culture change. In an earlier work (Schwimmer, 1956)
I developed the thesis that between the two interacting cultures
there stand a number of people whose position is best described as
one of double opposition: they find themselves in opposition to their
culture of origin and also, inevitably, to the strange culture they
are seeking to influence and adapt, or to borrow from.

This thesis presented an oversimplified picture. An Australian expatriate, when in contact with Papuans, certainly, almost inevitably, sets up as a champion of his culture of origin and, consciously or unconsciously, pressures the Papuan to adopt it. On the other hand, my definition of the mediator also implied that this expatriate, in contact with his own people, sets up as a champion of Papuan culture. On the surface, this is very far off the mark. I have attended a number of expatriates' social gatherings and found that there was an almost compulsive tendency at these gatherings to devote the time to bemoaning the supposedly grave and irreparable faults in the Orokaiva character. If we are to cast these expatriates in the role of champions of Papuan culture, we are forced to go beyond the conscious level and thus trespass dangerously on the preserve of the psychologists.

177 One of the most fruitful sources for such an exercise (in this
report I shall confine myself to the barest outline) is found in the
657 writings of C.A.W. Monckton, resident magistrate of the Northern
District in the first decade of the present century. Though Australian
administrators of today regard Monckton's methods with some horror,
I would still regard him as, in a deeper sense, a prototype of the
Territories administrator; he is more ruthless than those I met, but
also more candid and more deeply involved in Papuan culture. He was
extraordinarily influential: the Orokaiva fear of the white man, their
unremitting vigilance when a white man comes close, the cat-like caution
with which the white man is often evaded, can all be traced back to a

177 large extent to the bloodbath of these early days. It was he to whom, 657 above all others, the compulsive show of obedience Orokaiva make to white men can be attributed. It is therefore interesting to inquire what was the influence of Papuan culture on Monckton.

In order to show the atmosphere in which Monckton operated I shall quote a minor example (bypassing some cruder and more obvious passages of his books in which he describes shootings, floggings, tortures, etc.) where a sorcerer is brought before Monckton's court, accused of such crimes as causing a virgin of a distant tribe to produce still-born twins and causing the moon to alter its course and colour. Monckton advised the accused, so we are told, to plead "not guilty." "But I am guilty. I should not be much of a sorcerer if I could not do a little thing like that." In such cases, says Monckton (1922: 98). "The sorcerer would get a fine or a few months' imprisonment," Monckton explains that the New Guinea administration made witchcraft a crime punishable by law as a means of establishing respect for white man's law in the eyes of the Papuans.

[431] Monckton was very well aware that he was thus lending himself to a reciprocal transaction in which each side proffered the other a certain measure of prestige. The white man was most graciously given by the sorcerer a demonstration of his respect for the white man's law; in return Monckton (quite consciously, by his own admission) helped the sorcerer to "establish his reputation as a man capable of marvelous things, a man to be feared and conciliated with gifts" (ibid.: 99). On what basis, then, was the white man's law respected? It was on the principle of exchange which dominates and has always dominated Orokaiva social relations. (On this topic, see my doctoral dissertation.)

Monckton always bought his loyalties in this precise fashion. On one occasion (1934: Chapter 1) he invoked Papuan help to kill off a few troublesome marauders on the tacit understanding that the captors would be allowed to eat them. He appointed as his constabulary persons of high rank from various districts so that the Papuans would be afraid to kill the constables: their death might induce their own people to start a tribal war against the killers. In return the constables knew that their own villages would be quite safe from Monckton's bloodthirsty attentions. Furthermore, Monckton tells us that he was in the habit of making presents to his constables, paid for out of his own pocket, over and above whatever was supplied by the government. With these presents, he bought a kind of personal loyalty which was over and above that owed by the constables to their employing government. On one occasion his constabulary marched into Government House to protect Monckton while he was the guest of the governor.

Monckton admits that he made himself rather unpopular with the officials of Port Moresby. Neither the crudity of his methods nor the means by which he procured the special attachment of his praetorian guard were regarded as proper in a British officer. Some of his exploits,

657 such as his threat to chain some recalcitants to corpses they had
refused to bury, never entered his official despatches; other exploits
177 led to a series of inquiries and finally to his being edged out of the
service.

While Monckton's methods were never practised again by senior officers in the Northern District, the tendency for the field men to become involved with Orokaiva ways of thought and thus incur the displeasure of Port Moresby has persisted. The Higaturu Council's land registration scheme, dressed up by Popondetta public servants, is a case of that tendency. In this case land title deeds were issued which had no validity in law but which the district commissioner would protect with his strong right arm, such as Monckton would have done most efficiently. The arrangement was repudiated by higher authority in Port Moresby. Very often relationships between white employers and Orokaiva exist on two levels: an official level where wages are paid for work done and an unofficial level where the Orokaiva receives some small extra gifts and rewards his employer with some special loyalty. These "buckshees" are a regular pattern for which some allowance is made when calculating labour costs.

A second and completely different type of expatriate was Mr.
657 Kaad, who was in charge of the Ilimo evacuation camp. He neither
731 relied on threats of dire punishment nor on the Orokaiva system of
exchange bargaining. He came to the Territory in 1942 with the Army
and stayed to become a patrol officer. He was soon seconded with the
[466] Department of Labour. It became his task to educate expatriate employers
whose methods of treating their labour conflicted with the government's
plan of improving relations between Australia and the Papuans. In particular his task was to advocate better methods of labour control than corporal punishment which had been extremely prevalent. Orokaiva informants told us that in fact corporal punishment on plantations ceased after the second world war. Mr. Kaad later became an Assistant District Officer. At the time of the eruption he had just come back from leave to move to a new post, when he was chosen for the delicate job of looking after the evacuation camp.

His task at Ilimo, as he saw it, was to help the recovery of people who "had their world shattered." He was greatly in sympathy with the new policy of promoting Papuan economic development and tried hard to make the resettlement villages he set up into foci for development. At the same time he was always flexible and ready to place the interests of recovery from shock above the interests of reorganisation. Shortly after, he was crippled in an accident. In 1967, he was teaching at the School for Pacific Administration in Sydney, training future generations of patrol officers in techniques of social and economic development which he practised before he knew them theoretically.

Most of the other expatriates who had dealings with Sivepe and
657 Inonda moved quickly into anonymity. The roles played by a succession
177 of government and mission servants were undoubtedly key roles, but
their contact with the particular villages was too casual for their

177 [657] [125] individual names to become part of village history. The anthropologists who had been in the two villages, under the auspices of A.N.U., were all very well remembered by name. When we included in a questionnaire a request for the names of Europeans our informants knew well, we were given a list including all the anthropologists, by their first names, and nobody else. This was almost a standard reaction. I am not at all sure that this close acquaintance made the anthropologists into key figures in development or that they were more influential in socio-economic development than the mission and government servants who, though anonymous, may have achieved more in this direction. A.N.U. personnel have made presents of coffee hullers, both in Sivepe and Inonda; one anthropologist taught his key informant in Inonda to drive a car, as a result of which this man found a permanent job with the administration. These certainly were tangible moves in the direction of economic progress.

177 123 I found that among the Orokaiva, unlike the New Zealand Maori, I was never asked my opinion when some community decision was to be made nor was any greater interest displayed in the views of my predecessors. I was usually told when something had been decided (and decisions almost always seemed to be reached in my absence) and naturally I always expressed pleasure at receiving the information. The pattern was different only when I myself was directly involved. On the other hand my participation in community activities was sought and much appreciated. Our behaviour was closely observed and some minor innovations in housekeeping (the making of washing lines, airing of blankets, etc.) may be due to my wife. Everybody seemed concerned that our presence should not disturb the precarious balance of power--and that we should be given no power. This suited my own purpose.

If the anthropologists may nonetheless perhaps be classed as key personalities, it is because Orokaiva attach special importance on the kind of relationships that are thus established with whites. I have already mentioned some hints we received that we might be returned ancestors; even if imagination does not go so far, the daily relationship established with the anthropologists comes close to what Orokaiva would regard as tolerable and human. It is in the texture of life that grows up between the population and the anthropologist rather than specific innovations that the importance of his visit lies; perhaps without realising it, he nurtures an ideology.

875 657 One of the significant mediators during my time in Sivepe was the head teacher of Sasembata school. His case will provide an example of the dangers of generalising about expatriates who are in fact an extremely complex group very imperfectly known. This man, aged about 28, had led a somewhat bohemian life in Australia, as a photographer, broadcaster and advertising agent. His decision to join the New Guinea mission was in part a conversion, in part a search for identity, in part a search for an assured place in the world. He married a mission teacher met in New Guinea. He found, in fact, that none of the fixed expatriate categories quite fitted him: he had absorbed, while in

875 Australia, enough of contemporary thought in literature, art and allied
subjects and enough general sophistication to fit only with difficulty
657 in the society of missionaries, planters and officials. At the same
time he was drawn to these groups because of his feeling that by coming
to New Guinea he had joined the "have's" and left the "have-nots"
behind. Though his bohemian background made him critical towards the
colonial attitude to Papuans, he faced a difficult problem in working
out his own. Both his own ambition and his wife's background (closer
to the mission norm) predisposed him to avoid identification with the
Papuans. On the other hand, when I met him, he still felt a little
uneasy at playing the pukka sahib role which was certainly a betrayal
of earlier principles. He was beginning to run into some difficulties
with Papuans on the mission station and in the villages. During the
year of our presence in Sivepe, he found what seemed an excellent
solution by being elected a member of the Higaturu Local Government
Council.

647 Though membership is open to persons of any ethnic group, it
seemed at first as though Orokaiva would not vote for an Australian
666 candidate. After all, they are well aware of the dangers of having
their local affairs controlled by foreigners. But as the election
[123] approached, attitudes changed. Quite early, they had asked me to stand,
but I excused myself as I would not be staying long enough. A little
later, the mission teacher heard that if he offered himself, he would
get some support. He went to the villages of his ward on an electioneering
tour and defeated the sitting member with a comfortable majority.
[829] The motive of the electors, as I was told, was that this energetic
young white man would be a good champion for Sasembata causes in a
council which, in pragmatic terms, was still largely dominated by an
Australian advisor. Furthermore, Orokaiva were well aware that their
own power over the mission teacher had increased considerably since
he depended on them for elective office. He and his wife could no
longer treat any callers in an offhand fashion, for were they not
also voters?

Section 2: Papuans from Other Districts

177 In our discussion of expatriates, we have shown that some kind
of identification with Papuan values occurred in many of the most
influential; this identification could either be positive, when the
expatriate identified himself with the interests of the Orokaiva, or
negative, when the expatriate used procedures not acceptable in his
country of origin but effective in furthering his own interests in
opposition to Orokaiva. For the Papuans, employed as pastors or in
similar roles, and therefore resident among a strange tribe, the
position was more complicated. Such a Papuan was not principally
a mediator between his own indigenous culture and that of his new

177 environment, though he fulfills that role as well, as we have seen in the case of the introduction of the kere. The cultural values he has the duty to transmit belong to the expatriate culture of which his own knowledge is bound to be somewhat superficial. He therefore has three cultures to manipulate, not merely two.

797 The most senior, and by far the most influential of these mission people was the pastor. Unlike the others, he did not permit
177 himself to gloat over the superiority of coastal culture; in my own interviews with him I found his attitude towards Orokaiva culture to be consistently one of respect. He would point out differences between Orokaiva and his own people, but unlike the deacon and the teachers, he would do so with objective detachment. He felt very much the burden of his role as the local representative of God.

At the time of the eruption, he was a mission teacher, but shortly afterwards, he was sent back to Dogura for some years' training for the priesthood. Upon his ordination, he was sent to Sasembata in 1955. At that time only a small minority in Sivepe and the other villages had been baptised. By 1963, he had drawn almost everyone of his parish area into the church. He told me that this was not a trend peculiar to his parish; in 1963, there had been a great many baptisms throughout Orokaiva territory, and pagans had become quite a small minority.

A paradox in his position, to which I have already referred, was that though people were very cooperative in church work, attended his services, his special meetings, provided labour and materials, accepted his adjudication in quarrels, had him bless their guns and always showed him the highest respect, they would not give him land even on a semi-permanent basis. I have explained what I think to be the reason for this, but it was hard for the pastor to accept. He was threatening to leave and go to another parish where he could get some land. To him this was as symbolic as to the Orokaiva: it seemed unjust that after doing so much and being so familiar with the language and culture, they should insist on treating him as a stranger. Indeed, if he had settled as a private person, it would have been very harsh.

In Inonda, there were currently no key personalities of this category. Religious services were conducted by a local man. The
177 retired Sangara mission teacher, however, had definitely been a key
797 personality from the time of the eruption until his retirement in 1959. Though he was an Orokaiva, he belonged to a tribe which had been the most dangerous hereditary enemy of the Inonda people and before whom they had had to flee from their traditional territory around 1910.

The teacher, whose baptised name is Moses, was called Kuamale at birth, his namesake being his father's father. The latter, so I was told, was named in "the old way": it was the name of an enemy who had been recently killed. Moses went to school, was trained as a mission teacher in Dogura, and took up teaching in 1922 or 1923. He taught in his native district (Sangara) until the Japanese invasion, after which he closed school and went into the bush with the rest of

177 797 the people. When the Japanese were gone he went back to his old village; around 1946 he took over a school at Sewa, established after the war in a hitherto heathen area. Moses told people to build school rooms, houses for the teachers and a church. The people worked hard on these projects because they wanted to send their children to school. The school served a number of mountain villages in the vicinity of Sewa.

After the eruption, Moses, who had fled to Inonda, was transferred by the Bishop, first to the mission station at Gona, later to Togahou. About 15 months later, he was posted to Inonda, following an appeal from the Sewa people to the Bishop. This group had not had schooling since the eruption. At Inonda, Moses asked for a house to be built for him as well as a school. His pupils included children not only from Sewa, but also Hohota, Hiriju, Ureo, Mosou, Ajoro and Dobuduru. [562] Two of his daughters married Inonda men, one married an Ajoro man. When the Sewa people returned home, Moses stayed with his affines. With regard to gardening land, he is essentially no better off than the pastor at Sasembata. His Inonda affines lend him gardens from year to year. He also plants gardens at Hohota, owned by affines and a deacon. (See Crocombe and Hogbin, 1963: 33-35.) After he retired from teaching in 1959, his status soon dwindled. Crocombe (1966) has published an account of an initiation feast he held for his daughter's son. In keeping with his former role, this was given a highly acculturated flavour. It was on a larger scale than most of such feasts; Crocombe thought this was "to reaffirm his prestige and reinforce his stake in the village of his residence." (Ibid.: 78)

This was the man who brought Christianity to Inonda and the surrounding villages and who thus, in the context of culture change, must certainly be ranked a one-time "key personality." Yet his present status is demonstrably marginal. It is better than the Sasembata pastor's because he has affines to call upon, but the obligations of affines are strictly circumscribed: marriage gifts, help, if necessary sustenance. All these have been well provided; the affines have been good, even generous. Nor need the pastor fear for his descendants: they will be helped, in the usual Orokaiva way, by their paternal [423] relatives if they stay in Inonda or Hohota. But gifts of land are not regarded as an appropriate reward for missionary services rendered [431] by individuals.

Section 3: Residents of the Community

177 Among the key personalities in Sivepe over the period under consideration there were resisters as well as promoters of change. Among the resisters was undoubtedly Isemba, leader of the Seho clan, who died (unbaptised) in 1963. While this man was alive none of his clan joined the church; he did, however, agree with school education. [777] I was not able to learn much about him except that he was most knowl- [754] edgeable about the holding of feasts and their magic and that he feared

177 his powers of black magic would be undermined by the church if he
joined it. It seems likely that it was in part his influence which
[797] made Seho less inclined than Jegase to make outside contacts.

One of his sons, however, did leave the village to join the
[754] A. P. C., returning at the time of the eruption. It was this son (the
second in seniority) who was chosen by Isemba as his successor to
the leadership, as he had fallen out with the oldest one.

177 This son, baptised under the name of Lawrence in 1963, is now
about 50 years of age, proud and withdrawn, and is both the feast-
623 leader and the "committee" of Sivepe. His land holdings are relatively
extensive; he has lent some of them on a year-to-year basis to mission
personnel. He refuses to sell any of this land to the mission nor
[426] will he lend gardens to the mission as organisation. He may help an
individual teacher; when that teacher leaves, the land reverts to him.
At one time a teacher left just before the taro was ready for harvest;
Lawrence took the land and the taro; if the successor of the departed
teacher felt upset, he regarded this as a problem for the mission.
For Lawrence, this was a grave political issue: if one such land
transfer was agreed to, he felt this would effectively mean permanent
occupation by the mission of all areas loaned by him.

In spite of appearances, this implied no anti-mission attitude.
Lawrence was most interested in the benefits the mission could bring
and supported the move of Sivepe to a location on Seho land, six
chains from the mission, partly because he liked to be close. But
he pursued a careful policy of balance of power. The same pragmatic
approach marked his relations with government. He was among the first
to acquire coffee trees and Malayan rubber trees; he was, as I have
already said, a staunch advocate of the government's village improvement
policies, but when the patrol officer called his one concern, as
"committee" was to see him happily and speedily on his way again,
preferably without incident.

During the year, the women's club wanted some land for their
club house. He was on friendly terms with the secretary, who was
his elder sister's grandchild and offered an ideal elevated site,
between village and mission station which would have made the village
entrance most impressive. He was a man who thought of things like that.

Lawrence has nine children, three married and three single
[665] daughters and three young sons. One of the daughters, rather against
his will, married the most acculturated of the younger Jegase men; if
such a thing as factionism existed at all in Sivepe, he and this younger
man were clearly cast in the roles of opposing leaders. The second
daughter married into Kongohambo, a mile from Sivepe. The third married
a Samara man employed at Ilimo, but this man was said to maltreat his
wife. Lawrence went to Ilimo and brought her home; this was regarded
as quite proper even though bridewealth had been paid.

623 Lawrence was comparatively well off, largely because he was a
good coffee producer, but also because he received bridewealth from
177 three daughters, continuing gifts from his sons in law and from the
471

177 husbands of his sisters' daughters, as is customary. Most of all, he
was a careful man who put whatever he accumulated to the most prudent
623 use. In his capacity of clan leader and village leader, he controlled
471 two corporate savings accounts, one of $158, the other smaller and
secret; people had full confidence that deposits were entirely safe
in his care. Though he would never express himself in such terms, he
was actually leading his people into a state of solid and (hopefully)
economically viable peasantry.

I asked him what he thought were the qualifications of a leader.
177 A leader, he said, must be very smart and understanding, have a lot
623 of garden and make a feast; then the people will join him. They don't
[159] appoint him but he stands out by his farming, gardening, feasts. He
is usually an elderly man.

Not only Lawrence, but also all other informants insisted that leadership was not hereditary, even though a leader may desire a certain son to succeed him. After the old leader is dead, the living are free to make their own decision. Lawrence rejected the idea that the councillors are the present leaders of the community. The ancestors, he said, decided what people ought to do. They had talked all this over. Then the "two-bob councillors" came; all they care about is to carry out the government's orders. They don't really direct the people. All the same, Lawrence was well aware of the influence of the councillors. It was when they were established, he said, that the old way of thinking was upset. The village constable did not make impotant changes, though sometimes people went to jail for some trouble. In spite of these views, Lawrence went to no particular trouble to keep old customs alive; when he entertained Togahou village, there were far fewer ceremonial features than I saw at a feast at Inonda.

As an informant I found him entertaining but of limited useful-
115 ness. He was at first very reluctant, and later allowed himself to
be interviewed, using the occasion as a battle of wits. Never once
did he tell a direct lie, but his answers were cunningly planned with
the intent to mislead. My part of the game was to get at the truth
and in this game he was a most ingenious opponent. Sometimes he tried
to conceal what seemed to me a most innocuous piece of information;
thus, he alerted me to institutions I might otherwise have overlooked.
No statement he made could be accepted on its face value. In this he
differed from other informants less in intent than in ingenuity.

The other key personalities at the time of my visit were all
123 Jegase. As I had been apportioned to my clan, they were much more
159 helpful with information. They adopted me as a sort of fictional
clansman whereas to Lawrence I must have been a fictional affine. My
closest associate in the village was actually the son-in-law Lawrence
[559] disliked, Robert, my neighbour. He was a man of about 32 who had most
of the qualities admired by the Orokaiva: a fine dancer, with charm,
modest bearing, wisdom and foresight in handling social situations and
conflicts; he was generous with his possessions and did not importune
others for gifts; he was a good gardener, builder and worker, ready

124 was much less marked when I took him with me to Inonda. He was a
bachelor who had a penchant for courting girls he was, for some reason,
123 unable to marry. While we were in Sivepe, his girl friend, though
belonging to the Seho clan was rather too closely related to him on
157 her mother's side. Her father was Lawrence's elder brother and the
Seho clan generally was strongly opposed to the union; they therefore
[582] treated the affair as incestuous. The mission had wanted to send
Leon for training in hospital work. He had been doing some of this
at Sasembata, and it would have suited him. His father opposed the
idea, considering that his knowledge of English, etc. would be too
useful to lose. When I came, his calculation proved right, for Leon's
presence and employment drew me, for some months, into a position of
much dependence on that family. Leon was the only young man who did
not join in the drum dances, and who never sat with the other men.
Perhaps, his bachelor status partly explains this, but another bachelor
of the same age did not keep away to nearly the same extent.

177 One difference between Inonda and Sivepe was that in the former
place there was only one family through which adaptive ideas and
184 decisions were transmitted to the community, and in practise only one
man, whereas in Sivepe, there was a variety of influences: the Seho
leader, the two older, and in many ways totally different older Jegase
leaders, and several younger people each with their own fund of experience
which helped them to interpret a changing social situation. This
difference results not only from a different organisational pattern
(based respectively on the "big man" and the equality ideology) but
also from the mere difference of size. It may be argued that some at
least of the multitude of avenues through which the modern world was
made accessible to Sivepe was due to post-eruption measures in the
resettlement villages. Of the leaders discussed here, however, not a
single one (except the two young interpreters who were scarcely leaders)
[797] was educated in the post-eruption period. They may have been influenced
by their close association with the mission; if so, it is hard to say
to what extent this association explains their present attitudes. One
may safely say that the association with the mission at the present
time reinforces the change-directed ideology of Sivepe leadership.

CHAPTER IX: Adherence to Tradition

Section 1: Conflicts Between Two Conceptual Systems

181 The Orokaiva of today has to act in conformity with two
conceptual systems, one attributed to the ancestors and the other
177 imposed by the mission and, to some extent, by the government.
Essentially the system followed today is that attributed to the ancestors,
but changes have been very numerous. These changes have mostly been
conceptualised as substitutions and additions of the old system,
leaving its essentials intact. At the same time, these substitutions
have been calculated to ward off criticism from mission and government,
and to cope with changed conditions.

551 There is, for instance, a taboo on using the names of affines.
When the government pressed for the amalgamation of villages, affines
178 frequently found themselves residents of the same village, which
made the name taboo very awkward. The custom now is that the taboo
is greatly relaxed for Christians; the baptismal name has only a
mild taboo attached to it, while the severe taboo on the Orokaiva
name bestowed at birth has remained unchanged. In dealings with
Europeans, who do not respect the taboo (even though affines of a
person are present), only the baptismal name is used. In the village,
the Orokaiva names are now heard very rarely indeed.

464 The temporary labour migration of young men (who sometimes
leave wives behind in the village) continues a traditional pattern of
167 behaviour as young men used to go out in the same circumstances to
178 hunt heads, but it is money they now bring back before they settle
down. Bridewealth gifts have remained conceptually as they were
before: there must be a pig or pigs, bark cloth, ritual valuables
178 such as shell necklaces and feathers, cooking pots, but in addition
583 new wealth is necessary: store clothes, "knives and forks" (i.e.,
kitchenware) and money. Here again, a change in detail has not changed
the basic conception of the gift but rather has updated the details.

There used to be a ceremony to which a boy was subjected at
852 or just before adolescence. This was the time when the boy formally
178 assumed clothing. The boy used to be given his perineal band (bo)
by some adult male cognate, often the man by whom the boy had been
named. (Williams, 1930: 98) Nowadays, boys wear clothing much earlier
in life, but the ceremony is still held as an occasion for honouring
the child. It is now called a "birthday party"; as such it has the
blessing of the mission while at the same time an essential part of
a boy's life cycle is preserved.

796 The same pattern is found in the dancing which occurs nightly
177 before a major feast is held or before certain initiatory rites (like
the kere) are concluded. These are now referred to as "practices,"
[535] even though they are undoubtedly ritual acts in their own right. It
is also significant that the Orokaiva seasonal rites have been fitted
in as part of the Christmas and Easter observances, apparently as an
exotic appanedage, but in fact as a means of preserving traditional
religious obligations, even though in a changed form.

657 The same service of two masters is sometimes seen in the secular
sphere. People built lavatories, on official instructions, long before
[514] they dared to use them (for fear of sorcery). At Kendata, an hour's
[754] walk from Sivepe, I saw a village with new houses, built on the govern-
ment's instructions, but I was told nobody lived there except when
[361] there was a visit from the patrol officer. There are many such villages
in the Managalasi district. Here, government instructions are being
complied with but customary patterns have persisted. In Sivepe, not
very much show needed to be put on for the patrol officer. The place
was cleaned before he arrived, of course, but not significantly more
so than happened every week.

123 It is true that certain things were concealed from me in Sivepe,
but these fell largely into some simple and reasonable categories:
secrets known only to initiated men, secrets known only to members
of a family or of the Seho clan. It was not a practise of the people
to pretend to adhere to a custom they had abandoned or to pretend to
881 have abandoned what they were still practising. In the early days of
our stay, this did happen; it took some months before we discovered
that girls were secluded upon their first menstruation and then ceremoni-
ally exhibited. We were told this custom no longer existed. But then,
we had referred to the custom with reference to what Williams said
about it; and in that form, perhaps, it was not or no longer practised
[841] in Sivepe. Later, I was told that if the ceremony was not performed
girls could not control their menses; there would be no way of stemming
[783] the flow of blood and everything would be polluted. Thus, the ritual
has persisted. Whether full-grown girls, completely naked, are carried
through villages at the present time I very much doubt (viz Williams,
1930: 207). I was told that these customs lasted until the second
534 world war and then were abandoned. But I found the word "abandoned"
always a dangerous one; the calling down of spirits with bullroarers
782 in preparation for a feast (viz. Williams) was also, according to
178 Sivepe informants, an "abandoned" custom; yet it happened in both
Inonda and Urarituru (a mile from Sasembata mission station) in 1967.
It was true that it had not been done in Sivepe for some time--not
since the middle fifties--and that there was no immediate intention
of doing it again. On the other hand, Sivepe knew the use of bull-
roarers as a means of calling down spirits which would then be
present at a feast and give this feast magical potency. For the time
being, Sivepe people evidently feel that this procedure is unnecessary
for the achievement of their immediate ends but it is still part of the
store of available possibilities should a need appear to arise.

121 Much depends on the success of the policies now being advocated by the government. If these are successful in raising living standards and hold promise of yielding the wealth and power expected of them (that is, a gradual increase of wealth and power), then the direction of change observed since the war will continue to be followed. People will then be willing to make ever more drastic modifications of old ritual and finally, perhaps, the traditional conceptual system will break down in favour of a different system. On the other hand, Orokaiva are not unprepared if these promises remain unfulfilled and if living standards should actually drop again, a possibility by no means to be ruled out as the economic future of New Guinea export products is very uncertain. In that case, millennial movements, relying on traditional magical procedures, are an ever-open possibility.

177 At the present time, Orokaiva are not taking a defensive
position about their abandonment of old customs, as they regard this
a reasonable consequence of accepting the "new day." Nor do they
act defensively when they observe traditional custom. They reinterpret
such observance by means of the kind of ambiguities I have outlined.
[154] In fact I cannot conceive of any situation in which an Orokaiva will
behave defensively. I would not call their ambiguities rationalisations
either: when they use terms like "birthday party" or "practise,"
they are not rationalising their ceremonies as part of a new Christian
way of life but they are merely saying that these ceremonies are
capable of bearing a second meaning, in the context of a Christian
system. Upon further inquiry, the anthropologist finds that his
informants can explain the original system in much detail whereas a
concept such as that of a "birthday party" in the Western sense is
left in a total vacuum, as the day and even the year of birth of a
child is hardly noted.

Section 2: Controls Operating for and Against Continuance of Tradition

In an earlier chapter I described a ceremony for children
852 about to start their new school year. It was a kind of farewell feast,
177 which certainly made the children feel that they were off to an
important assignment to an alien world. But it also carried a second
kind of message: that the world of the school begins outside the
857 village boundaries. When the children came back to the village (which
177 was every night) they resumed their ordinary roles in the Orokaiva
scheme. The children felt no conflict of loyalties inside the village;
village life had been sufficiently adapted to remove glaring inconsistencies
between the rules of village and mission station. It was a little
124 different for my interpreter who had been to Martyr's School and who
therefore knew various Christian concepts unfamiliar to other villagers.
177 This made him feel a little superior when he talked to me; he would
tell me what "the others" believed, adding that he knew how matters

124 really stood. In this, there may have been a certain hollowness;
I never saw among all the Orokaiva a young man who was as scared of
177 his affines as this one. One reason why I employed the young woman as
second interpreter was that nothing would induce him to open his mouth
when I wanted to talk to his classificatory father-in-laws. In all
significant respects, then, he offered little challenge to accepted
tradition.

Children were trained by their parents in the prevalent system
867 of custom and belief, as modified by recent changes; they maintained
869 their traditional regard for their elders, not regarding their school
knowledge as giving them any claims to superiority. Their elders did,
177 as far as I know, make no use of the knowledge their children gained
at school; my two interpreters were the technicians when letters had
to be written or other newfangled problems solved. Everyone in the
621 village, including ourselves, were expected to fulfill reciprocal
obligations in the community; the acculturated young were certainly
571 expected to help their kinsfolk, especially if their knowledge had
602 yielded cash. Even those absent on jobs in town were always asked
(and occasionally expected) to help. There was only one partial
escape from community obligations and that was to live outside the
village. Migrants knew that whatever possessions they had amassed
away from home would soon have to be shared out if they returned to
Sivepe. While they were away, they could more often refuse demands
with impunity. But they knew that unsatisfied claims tended to be
stacked up against their return. Some claims were purely try-ons.
I have myself been the communicator of such claims from a Kongohambo
man to his kinsmen in Port Moresby; I could see that the response
to some of them was merely hearty laughter. But others,
communicated at the same time, were taken seriously; some gift had
to be made.

The penalty threatening an absentee who neglected his kin had
[626] to be paid when that absentee returned; especially when that absentee
[423] wanted to resume possession of his land holdings. Little would it
benefit him that certain lands had been left to him by his father, for
during his absence, other men had been "looking after" them. If he
had neglected these men, his rights would be hard to reassert; the
community would give him little sympathy. If he had been generous
during his absence, he could be strong in his claims; his relations
would then show him benevolence. Rights could be kept warm only by
constant exchanges; a moratorium of more than one year begins to be
risky. While a man is in town, the exchanges seem unequal; money or
clothes go to the village; some taro are sent to town (when I went to
Port Moresby I was given a sack of these to carry, to be distributed
by a knowing relative in town).

For those who remain in the village, the sanctioning mechanisms
626 are mostly informal. Failure in one's obligations means loss of
status, leads to gossip, derogatory remarks to one's face, perhaps
even a harangue at night by a man at the other end in the village.

693 The councillor, the court and the police are only a last resort in
serious quarrels. I saw a councillor enter a dispute once, playing a
627 mediating role between disputants from two villages, but without
playing more than an advisory role. One quarrel was taken to court,
but this was not a case where traditional mechanisms of social control
683 had failed. A woman accused her husband of adultery with one of the
new Garombi arrivals. She and the husband fought and had to be
626 separated as the lady had an axe; the domestic dispute soon died down
but the Garombi woman laid a complaint for slander with the police.
Before this came to court, the wife had been roundly condemned by
almost everyone in the village; she had repented, had gone round the
village to signify her regrets, and been as contrite as her pride
could possibly allow her to be. The court let her off with a reprimand.
The episode, far from suggesting a flagging of Orokaiva traditional
social control, had demonstrated to me that it was still effective.
177 Nonetheless, the Orokaiva, as so many other peoples in contact with
627 Western civilisation, have been quick to see the advantages of a
judicial system providing an impartial arbiter in disputes, to whose
decisions both parties will defer. At the moment, this western
judicial system is an additional resource of Orokaiva law, without
undermining its existing institutions.

425 trespassing there. Bishop David recalled, in my interview with him,
how amazed the people were that the land was no longer theirs: "What
657 is this business of our land being sold? Our fathers sold it; we
should be able to get it back." In spite of the Bishop's protests,
the people had to leave their new village. They then moved about two
[361] miles closer to the mountain and to the centre of their traditional
land holdings and chose the site of Hohorita. (The Irihambo village
used not only Crown land but also the land of a planter, Mr. C. E.
Searle, who tells me he never objected to the presence of the village.
The situation is illustrated on Map XIII.)A

The shift from Irihambo was a gradual process, during which
361 several groups set up new villages independently. Today, the population
657 of Irihambo is dispersed over six locations: first, two large villages,
one behind the other, which have now virtually fused into one and
together are known as Hohorita; immediately to the side of this, a
mission station, with a church built of bush materials, similar to the
one at Sasembata, but not of the superior standard achieved at Irihambo;
finally three smaller breakaway villages, called Sombou, Kakita and--
again--Irihambo. Though Hohorita people today are not ready to admit
it, they must have been very angry when they were told their Irihambo
land was to be occupied by white ex-servicemen. They pulled down the
beautiful church at Irihambo, much to the Bishop's chagrin.

Under the impact of the Higaturu Local Government Council,
Hohorita nonetheless gradually assumed the character of the other
modern resettlement villages; by June, 1967, the biggest of the breakaway
groups had joined the main village, which no longer looked like two
separate units but had been spatially integrated; the houses were
being aligned and modernised; in other more fundamental respects the
[177] Sangara people had become rather rapidly acculturated. By the criteria
used in the present study, acculturation had progressed rather more
rapidly than at Sivepe, though also more unevenly. In many respects,
[731] Hohorita had more difficult problems to surmount than Sivepe: the
death toll had left the tribe virtually leaderless; the resettlement
village was made up of the survivors of a dozen villages or more, which
made it rather heterogeneous; land titles were far more confused than
before the eruption; the establishment of an esprit de corps required
the forgetting of deep traditional intervillage antagonisms; a deep
sense of insecurity had been caused, first by the disaster and the
deaths and later, probably, to some extent by the failure of settlement
at Irihambo.

It was the general hypothesis of this comparative study of ten
731 displaced communities in the Pacific that displacement would lead to
accelerated culture change in some directions. This hypothesis was
177 tested by using, in each case, a control community, similar to the
relocated community but lacking the experience of relocation. In the
[121] case analysed in the present report, the experience of displacement at
Sivepe was comparatively mild in that the people soon returned to their
traditional land holdings and formed a village identical in personnel

A[See Cat. 116, p. End Map 12--Analyst]

731 to the pre-eruption village. Furthermore, the control community
differed in minor ways from Sivepe both in ecology and in traditional
177 social structure. Certainly this report has pinpointed a number of
differences in the acculturation history of Inonda and Sivepe; it has
probably been rather less successful in determining whether these
differences are due to the displacement experience (and subsequent
government and mission initiatives) or to the ecological and cultural
differences which existed between the two communities at the time of
the eruption, and which were further accentuated when Popondetta
became the administrative centre, thus placing Inonda appreciably
closer to the centre than Sivepe.

121 I made a study of Hohorita because I felt it would perhaps provide more cogent evidence. Here resettlement followed a cataclysm during which over 90% of the population died; furthermore, the ecology and culture of Sangara was very close indeed to that of Sivepe. I was struck, during my study of Hohorita, by the evidence of far more rapid acculturational changes than I found at Sivepe. Hohorita, to put it briefly, produced more intellectuals and also more coffee than other communities that had been less afflicted. This seems to suggest I might have done better to take Sivepe and Hohorita as my sample communities, as I would have been able to show more striking differences in spite of greater ecological and cultural similarities. I rejected this idea because my study would then have been methodologically anomalous in the framework of the total project in which the nine other investigators had used a different research strategy.

Nonetheless, the study of Hohorita is of very special anthropological importance as it shows strikingly how a primitive community reacts and adjusts to a cataclysm. The fact that the presence of the Australian government and mission provided the community with some additional adjustment opportunities hardly detracts from the interest of the case. It is impossible to do justice to the subject in this epilogue. Not only would this take too much space, but the time pressure under which this report is compiled also makes it impossible. As Hohorita has a population of 348, the genealogies, lists of educational, occupational, residential data, the statistical evidence of the inter-village relationships are all most complex and will need to be analysed out of 650 pages of field notes. These notes are at present no more than lists of names related to individual families. All I can do here is to give my own preliminary impressions of the material, coupled with general descriptive data. Nonetheless, I hope that I can thus show some of my findings from Sivepe in a broader setting and draw attention to a few basic issues.

423 dance in Sasembata. But they enjoy very much better conditions than
are usual for men who marry uxorilocally.

591 The mortality among the elderly at the time of the eruption was
582 so great that many traditional customs and myths were lost among the
Sangara with the elders who knew them. For instance, rituals carried
on at birth in Sivepe are no longer practised in Hohorita. For the
731 rest, I did not see many differences between the villages in level
165 of acculturation. Housing conditions in Sivepe were better; money
was more plentiful at Hohorita. Dances were far more carefully
practised and more expertly performed at Sivepe. Clearly, the Hohorita
177 people spent more time at their coffee; this was given as the reason
for neglect in other matters. It may well be that cash-cropping above
184 the level noted at Sivepe has necessary consequences of this sort
unless technological changes occur. Ideologically, Hohorita is--as
I demonstrated--more deeply involved with the concepts of the New
Day than Sivepe.

Though no groups have left Hohorita since it was founded, the
621 co-residence of these many clans does make for a certain instability.
The leaders of the Oripa clan group told me that just after the
614 eruption very few Oripa were left, but as the clan was becoming more
numerous, it was beginning to think to establishing its own village.
Besupa was harbouring similar thoughts. Both these clans were minority
clans in their part of the village and this inevitably implied some
subordination. In Sivepe, the fusion of Jegase and Timumu had established
a fairly equal balance with Seho, as both clan groups were about equal
in strength if the greater resources of Seho are taken into account.
In Hohorita, however, the supremacy of Horeopa (and Sehopa in the back
section of the village) could hardly be challenged. The councillor
and the government are opposed to such fission and overcapping organ-
isations such as the credit union, the women's club, the church, the
school, etc. may gradually set up a firm esprit de corps. The importance
of tree-crops (as opposed to shifting cultivation) in the Hohorita
economy might be a further disincentive to the migration of groups to
another village, but Oripa has in mind a new village site which would
actually be closer to their coffee gardens.

Section 6: Conclusion

In this study, we have found three complex forces, acting as
177 causes of changes, to be intertwined: forces acting throughout Papua
and New Guinea to promote socio-economic development, the effect of
the relocation of certain communities near Mount Lamington after the
eruption, and the physical and cognitive effects of the eruption itself.
The last-mentioned of these forces was far more disastrous for Sangara
731 than for the rest of the Northern District of Papua. In tracing the
causes of culture change in Hohorita, we have to give especial emphasis

177
[797]

177 to the helplessness of the survivors, the extraordinarily strong
influence that was exerted upon them immediately after the disaster
731 by Bishop Hand (resulting in many becoming mission teachers, the
building of a church of especially high quality, scrupulous school-
[797] going by the children and other signs of compliance), stronger pressure
than usual to succeed in skilled occupations, a more profound reappraisal
of ideology under the impact of disaster as well as church influence,
and finally the availability of more cash-cropping land than at
Sasembata, as a result of depletion of the population.

In Sivepe, where little loss of life occurred, the pattern of changes differs from that in Inonda, but the difference may well be largely explainable by the superior facilities introduced, especially by the mission, into the Sasembata area as a response by the Anglican authorities to the disaster.

177 The paradox of Papuan culture change is its dependence on
migration out of the rural areas. The striking changes of ideology
369 seem to result always from travel and contact between the men who have
been away and those who have stayed at home. In the district itself,
the progressives are always those with outside experience. In Hohorita,
these progressives had more varied and deeper experiences (perhaps
because the home base was destroyed) and those who were urbanised
continued constant contact with the village. Rural development has
opened up some new economic opportunities, and the improvement of
school services is opening up further opportunities, but it is only
the returning traveller who understands these opportunities and leads
his people in realising them. Relocation provides opportunities for
village renewal and these opportunities are seized upon by the natural
innovators within the villages (the returned migrants) to hasten the
coming of the New Day.

133 731 eruptions has subsequently continued, and reports as of December, 1951, show a persistence of these conditions and a recurrence of bad earth tremors. In other words the Orokaiva, Government and Mission are having to learn to live with the volcano for an indefinite period.

731 241 An observer passing through or flying over destroyed areas was struck by the fact that plants with large fleshy foliage such as taro (the staple food of the Orokaiva) and bananas tended to green over quickly. Root crops indeed sometimes showed accelerated growth, presumably through combined ash-rain fertilization, though considerable rotting set in later. Squads of men were organized to go into the more accessible areas within the blast perimeter to gather such surviving crops, though they were not permitted to stay overnight. These foodstuffs supplemented the official rations which consisted of rice, canned meat, some wheatmeal, peas, salt, sugar, and tea in generous quantity.

731 Within two months the whole situation was becoming reasonably "structured." The Government vulcanologist had defined a danger zone from eight to 12 miles around the active crater; no individual could go inside this area except with an official pass, and then only by day and for good reason. Those groups whose living sites were outside this closed area, or who could get land from relatives or others, were being allowed to resettle under conditions closely prescribed by supervising Government officers (this will be enlarged upon later in this paper). On this basis, some 2,500 persons had already left the refugee camps, though they were still being rationed to some degree. The "Sangara" people had been transported back inland from the Eroro camp to the Popendetta camp and adjacent zones within a few miles of their homes. The "Isivita" people at Oro Bay, numbering some 600, were being transported in batches of some 35 persons every other day by launch from the Oro Bay camp to Killerton, by truck to the Popendetta camp, then by small Dragon Moth plane to the Kokoda airstrip. From here they walked the approximately 20 miles to the Ilimo camp on the western side of the mountain where they had lived formerly. The Oro Bay camp was in this way closed down by May. At Ilimo, some 2,000 persons were living either in the first temporary huts such as the Orokaiva build for emergency or short-term housing, or in large newly-constructed houses of a more permanent type. (Somewhat later this camp population was reduced to about 1,500, comprised essentially of the surviving people from the west side of the mountain whose homes were in the closed-off area and who had not been able to find resettlement places outside). The Ilimo camp had a staff of some 14 white officials, aided by Papuan police and other assistants. In addition to the various welfare activities, there were schools for children and adults, sports, a community hall, and a large block of garden land broken in with tractors and other modern tools. Government was using it as an experiment in "community development" as well as a relief center.

731 657 177 [361] By that time, too, a whole series of policy problems had arisen which both the field staffs and the Australian authorities at Canberra and Port Moresby were trying to resolve. Most serious was the question of how far the crucial break with the past should be used as an opportunity to encourage

731 or even force Orokaiva settlement patterns from the traditional
657 scattered hamlet system to village or even town living.
Another tough question was how far Government should step
177 in to supervise matters of economic and social welfare, including
[361] elementary schooling which hitherto policy had left almost
wholly to the Anglican Mission. The majority of the
[797] mountain Orokaiva are now adherents of this Mission, the
only body operating in the area. Questions relating to land tenure, social group realignment, leadership, law and order, and other matters involving local custom had also to be faced, especially in the course of the first experiments in resettlement.[4]

731 Officials and Mission workers reported that the explanations
of the "cause" of the disaster given to them by Orokaiva,
784 were, in general, of a supernatural nature: "God"
was punishing them for "sins" such as "not supporting Mission and Government plans for development," "not building new churches as requested by the Bishop," or "not helping the Allies enough during the war." However much these may
731 have pleased the hearers, the fact seems to be that there were
152 resulting strong feelings of insecurity and even of guilt in
their retrospective look at the pre-eruption way of life.[5] Officials who know the Orokaiva considered that these feelings undoubtedly helped to foster the extraordinary degree of cooperation and orderliness in situations where large numbers of people were necessarily herded together and shifted around without benefit of the traditional niceties and proprieties.

This raises the whole problem of interpreting the overt
121 events here summarized in terms of their cultural and individual
731 contexts. In discussing theory relating to the dynamics
of change and resistance to change, the writer, along with
178 others, has referred elsewhere to the general tendency for
peoples to be pre-conditioned by the characteristic sets of their
182 culture and personality norms, to be differentially "adaptable"
or responsive to change in the face of new experiences.[6] The impression gained in this case is that subject to inevitable factors of shock and disorganization, the Orokaiva were culturally predisposed to respond to the traumatic experience here described with something approaching maximum adaptability.

262 The mountain Orokaiva are shifting cultivators, and supplement
their staple food, taro, with sweet potato, yam, banana and sugar cane. Flesh from domestic pigs, chickens, dogs, and wild game is what Williams calls "a dainty rather
241 than a diet." "Fresh ground," says this ethnographer, "is
continually cleared for new plantings" in the typical pattern

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[113] [4] These matters are discussed particularly by C. S. Belshaw, an anthropologist working in Papua under the auspices of the Australian National University Research School of Pacific Studies, as a result of a visit to the area in April, 1951; see his "Social Consequences of the Mount Lamington Eruption," *Oceania*, 21, 4, pp. 241-252 (1951). This article was not seen until after the first draft of this paper was completed, and as the approach is considerably different the two papers are complementary rather than unduly overlapping.

[5] Belshaw, *op. cit.*, p. 242, stresses this "guilt" factor.

[113] [6] F. J. Keesing, "Some Notes on Acculturation Study," Sixth Pacific Science Congress, *Proceedings*, IV, pp. 59-63 (Berkeley, 1940); "Cultural Dynamics and Administration," Seventh Pacific Science Congress, *Proceedings*, 14 pp., mimeographed (New Zealand, 1949).

731 152 [823] mountain, wholly on official rations, and with nothing to do, the people were a prey to all kinds of rumors as to what was going on elsewhere. Furthermore, these mountain people apparently could not conquer a fear of the sea, and this was reinforced by a rumor that a supernatural "tidal wave" was to occur along the coast. The camp director told how every night the more timid scattered on to the higher ground rather than sleep in the camp on the foreshore. Prior to the liquidation of this camp the authorities sent one of the leading men back to the big Ilimo camp and the home area so that he could return with a factual account of conditions and allay the other inmates' fears as far as possible. A strong current of tension running through this whole situation was: "What does Government intend to do?" All these behavioral conditions appear psychologically congruent with the long term personality norms.

731 361 177 The new group alignments of the camps and resettlement areas presented interesting tests as to how far larger aggregations could be structured effectively enough to show promise of permanence. This matter is particularly crucial to policy, and constitutes the major challenge from the viewpoint of "applied anthropology." Reference has been made in the foregoing to a controversy which arose as to whether this would be an appropriate occasion to resettle the survivors in centralized communities, or to allow them to scatter as before in a dispersed pattern of settlement consistent with safety. Some officials resented the idea that the catastrophe should be used to "put over" anything other than those rehabilitation operations that are in line with the habits and sentiments of the people. On the other side was an opposing official viewpoint, and a powerful Mission sentiment, that it would be in the long term interest to take the opportunity to concentrate the surviving Orokaiva into a small number of population centers, with proper welfare and other services. The first village building program represented something of the latter viewpoint, though some even visualized bringing the people into a handful of large townlike communities, much like the Ilimo camp-settlement, with cooperative agriculture and other modernization. The Orokaiva, so far as their views had been, or could be obtained, appeared to have no crystallized opinion. Because of the factors playing upon them, they were for the time being particularly susceptible to the suggestions of those official and Mission workers who brought the enthusiasm of reformers to the cause of concentration.

731 The writer was asked to give an opinion on this matter. The following points seemed clear, even from a quick view:

657 361 177 1. The loosely organized Orokaiva society has no significant pre-existing socio-political institutions and loyalties beyond the immediate kinship and hamlet alignments. A camp concentration, therefore, remained a congeries of traditional groups, each dealing with Government authority through its senior leader. Officials said that a few particularly strong men of super-local reputation were tending to take leadership in speaking when the "headmen" were brought together for informal camp "councils." But essentially, for purposes of issuing ration and other activities, each small group had to be dealt with as a unit, and otherwise kept its integrity. Here and in the newly formed villages, Government de-

731 657 361 177 liberately endeavored to keep everyone busy, and the men spent much of the time in work gangs (e.g. Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday were usually devoted to house-building; Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday to gardens; Friday to roads and hygiene). But leadership and organization were creatures of Government, and to some extent of Mission. There were no significant signs of a self-motivated superstructure taking form other than the strengthening of scattered clan ties. Consequently, should larger communities be established with the purpose of preventing the people from scattering out again, they would have to be bureaucratically or theocratically controlled with all the dubious consequences such a situation can entail.

731 657 578 [625] 2. Reasonable law and order was being maintained in the new settlements, under the eye of a considerable force of the Papuan Constabulary sent in for the emergency. Opponents of a concentration policy claimed, however, that the older patterns of intergroup hostility and violence are not far enough below the surface to justify the risks involved in larger long-term aggregation. As indicated, problems of land tenure are a major potential source of conflict. Another is "woman trouble," judging from experience in the camps where husbands and wives find themselves in informal association with members of the opposite sex, in contrast to the normal tightly structured small units.

731 754 514 3. Not least among the uncertain factors is that of sorcery. According to those who manage the settlements, fear of coming under the influence of strangers who practice sorcery shows itself as a vague but persistent factor. Most overtly it has emerged in connection with the disposal of waste products in the large camps. In typical Papuan fashion the Orokaiva is extremely secretive in his disposal of faeces and other leavings of his body because of the possibility of their use against him in harmful magic. A crucial question, therefore, has been whether group toilets could provide enough anonymity to forestall opportunities for the practice of sorcery. The problem was dealt with where possible by putting men's and women's latrines over running water. This social-supernatural sanitation problem could be serious where long term settlement of large groups is being planned.

731 361 241 [242] 731 657 [241] [177] 731 231 4. On the economic side, no sound basis seems in sight for establishing large permanent communities in the comprehensive manner proposed. As indicated, the familiar pattern of shifting gardens will normally involve seasonal movement outward from the immediate environs of the new settlements where most present cultivations are now being made. As yet, no widespread disposition exists to adopt more intensive sedentary cultivation, although undoubtedly some will be prepared to try to continue cooperative experiments with rice and other crops and, hence, will be amenable to Government and Mission encouragement and aid here. As in socio-political affairs, the responsible organization and leadership would in general have to be provided from outside, with the dependence relationship that this implies. Government might have to continue helping any large community for an indefinite period, as with the mechanized agricultural production it is introducing at the Ilimo camp. In large settlements the technique of handling domestic pigs and chickens, vital sources of protein, is always a difficult

241 the Territory to the point of self-sufficiency and dietary ade-
177 quacy and one on which almost no progress has been made.
Theoretically the problem does not look difficult, in view
of the characteristic adaptability of the Orokaiva, the loose
group organization which involves no elaborately structured
hierarchy of vested interests in the *status quo*, and the free-
dom of families to experiment as they wish as more or less
independent production units. But here, as in the case of
shifting gardeners in many comparable situations, the prob-
lem is one of motivation, of incentives. Among the Orokaiva,
for all the enthusiasm they have engendered, past religious
and cooperative movements have not struck seriously at
the rotational basis of cropping, or introduced fertilization
and other soil-maintenance techniques. The territorial De-
[654] partment of Agriculture is desperately short of manpower
and it is not likely that it can afford to station a permanent
cadre of technical personnel to guide and supervise this
[797] still quite remote district. It is also very doubtful that the
Anglican mission could do so. Nevertheless, at the centers
referred to above, the present dynamic situation justifies giv-
ing encouragement and aid on a voluntary basis to any
families and individuals who may wish to try out sedentary
cultivation, market saleable products, and on a cooperative
basis of organization where desired. Such a non-compulsive
widening of the range of cultural alternatives seems in line
with a current strong stirring of ambition among some of
the younger, schooled Papuans to adapt to the modern world
and have a greater voice in the affairs of the Territory.

731 To the extent that this paper presents a correct interpreta-
tion, its implication is that this catastrophic shock has pro-
177 duced something approximating a minimum degree of cul-
178 tural trauma, considering the demographic dimensions and
the destruction and death involved. Predispositions in Oro-
121 kaiva culture and personality favored relatively easy "adap-
tive" behavior in the face of crisis. The remarkably effective
[657] relief measures taken by the Australian authorities helped
materially to cushion the situation. Any attempt by Govern-
ment and Mission to use the emergency to manipulate such
a people and culture arbitrarily in drastically new economic
and socio-political directions would seem foredoomed to
failure, and would generate unwanted tensions. Yet oppor-
tunities are clearly present for economic and other stimula-
tion and education of a voluntary and permissive type. Con-
121 sidered as a case study in cultural dynamics it is illustrative
both of internal readjustment in a culture where a sharp
shock and break in continuity occurs, and of the implications
of attempted control and direction in culture process by a
dominant outside authority.

[p.22-B]

781 gara lived close to a large mission station which offered educa-
tional facilities until it was wiped out by the disaster. Afterward,
the mission took a special interest in their welfare.

781 What distinguished the relocated villages from the others was
not greater contact with European-dominated institutions. On the
184 contrary, it would seem that contact with such institutions was
● [177] probably most frequent among the male residents of Inonda, who
were much engaged in wage labor; such contact was least fre-
quent in Sivepe, with Hohorita holding an intermediate position.
[434] Nor could it be said that economic prosperity, in the sense of
money income, was correlated with relocation. On the contrary,
the average income was higher in Inonda than in Sivepe or
Hohorita.

781 In summary, the major outcomes of the eruption and relocation
have been the following: first, the administrative center Higaturu,
657 situated on the mountain, was destroyed and replaced by Popon-
detta, which lies on the alluvial plain to the north, thus shifting the
center of Australian influence away from the relocated villages.
This detracted from rather than contributed to development of the
relocation areas and placed the administrative center at some
distance from the areas of greatest population density. However,
the relocated villages were provided with subsidiary centers of
Australian influence such as the hospital in Saiho and the mission
781 stations at Sasembata, Isivita, Agenahambo, and Hohorita. In ad-
dition, a number of large villages (with populations of 250 to 500)
361 came into being along the main road between Popondetta and
Kokoda at a distance of 6 miles or more from the crater; these vil-
lages were made up of groups previously domiciled in small bush
villages.

[177] The government prefers these large villages because they make
it possible to introduce such Western social institutions as school-
ing, water supplies, road construction, and health clinics more
conveniently. The eruption offered the government a good oppor-
tunity to establish large villages. The population of the bush settle-
ment had abandoned the area, and by the time the population was
allowed to return, the villages were no longer habitable because of
781 eruption damage and subsequent neglect. In this sense the erup-
tion offered an opportunity for speeding up development pro-
178 grams. One might also argue that social development among the
Sangara survivors was accelerated when the entire older genera-

731 tion perished in the eruption and the survivors were therefore not
fully instructed in traditional religious knowledge. Innovation
178 proceeded without the resistance an older generation might have
offered had it survived. I have argued elsewhere that this absence
of the elders led to striking changes in the Sangara perception of
the world (Schwimmer 1969:70–71).

731 If we compare relocated villages such as Hohorita and Sivepe
with villages touched less by the disaster, such as Inonda on the
184 alluvial plains, we notice that the former villages are larger, dis-
182 play more of the innovations advocated by the government, have a
higher level of school education, and have responded more to government-sponsored schemes such as coffee growing. In my detailed report (Schwimmer 1969), I was inclined to ascribe such differences to the effect of close contact and guidance during the period immediately following the eruption, but such an explanation should be treated with caution.

The differences are probably due largely to ecological factors described in the report. Inonda land provides more animal foods; it is slightly closer to wage employment and markets; the climate is less suitable for cash crops than in Sivepe. The population, due to its sparseness, is relatively deficient in health and educational services. Hence the conditions for cooperation with government programs were less favorable than at Sivepe. Furthermore, the observed differences may also be due to historical factors. While coastal and foothill areas had been missionized and in contact with the administration for many years, the intervening Sauaha
groups including Inonda were defeated and sustained heavy losses
[177] in the warfare of the early postcontact period. They subsequently
remained aloof from white contacts. After the Japanese occupation, some of their men were hanged by the Australians for having acted as collaborators.[11] Hostile feelings are still an impediment to the acceptance of government and mission programs.

731 Such social consequences of the Mount Lamington eruption do
not in themselves lead readily to illuminating anthropological
generalizations. The actions of government and mission immediately after the eruption greatly relieved the distress of the population, but we cannot establish that these actions, directly
121 and specifically, led to major social changes. One might therefore
be inclined to view the eruption of Mount Lamington as lacking
serious anthropological interest, yet such a view would greatly

731 only with reference to a quite novel form of infringement of the
784 taboo—a far more offensive infringement than had ever happened
before. Just what made grenades and guns so offensive?

184 This question may be answered on several levels. The first of
776 these is a purely ritual level. Of all the novel activities in which the
Orokaiva engaged near the mountain, the ones that were singled
out as significant stood out by making a sharp, loud, and danger-
[822] ous noise. Now there are many ritual contexts where the Orokaiva
use silence as a sign of respect and noise as a sign of disrespect.
Hence the Orokaiva were ritually consistent when they told me it
411 was the noise of the hunters' guns that angered Sumbiripa. But
hunting rifles have a further symbolic significance that should be
224 taken into account. I was told that game on the mountain was
plentiful until the guns were introduced but that today hardly any
game is left because the guns killed it all. In this instance the Orokaiva were giving a very reasonable explanation of a drop in game
population which was probably real enough. In fact everybody
uses guns today or wants to use them, as they are effective for
hunting. But they are also sinister—that is, their effectiveness is
known to be too great to allow the game population to survive.

[177] The young men who took up the use of hunting rifles between
the end of World War II and the time of the eruption were bold in-
[829] novators and at the same time they were considered slightly
wicked in abandoning traditional hunting methods. This is im-
731 plied by informants who account for the eruption by the anger of
Sumbiripa. They are thinking of the breakdown of the old order
784 by the adoption of European innovations, Sumbiripa representing
184 the potency of the old order. They argue that if only the young
men had not started to use hunting rifles, the disaster would not
776 have happened. The young men would never have dared to make
such a din close to the crater if their respect for the spirits had not
been undermined by newfangled doctrines.

The explanation of the disaster considered here resembles all
other recorded explanations in one fundamental respect: it is not
merely the application of a traditional rule to a new event but it
generates a new rule, justifies the rule in the light of empirical
evidence, and can be comprehended only in the framework of an
ideology which in turn was generated by contemporary events.
[177] The starting point of all the explanations is the activity of white
officials, missionaries, and traders among the Orokaiva and the

731 innovations they have brought. Those who blame the eruption on
the anger of Sumbiripa regard these innovations as potentially
784 disastrous. They argue that the eruption has proved their point; it
184 has fortified them in their ideology. Furthermore, they have estab-
lished the rule that people should not shoot on the mountain.
776 Before the eruption this was not, to my knowledge, clearly formu-
[177] lated as a ritual prohibition. Today it is clearly stated though gen-
erally disregarded for reasons we shall soon learn. In justification
of the rule, it should be noted that it is supported by some very
cogent evidence from Sivepe villagers. It is a fact that while the
eruption killed nearly all the Sangara it killed very few people of
Isivita and the Sasembata districts, even though they live equally
[411] close to the crater. It is also a fact that while the Sangara had
many hunting rifles in the late 1940s, the Isivita and the Sasem-
bata districts then had few or none. I was told that Sumbiripa
[787] gave two signs just before the eruption. To the Isivita people and
those of Sasembata district he made a sign of blue fire, which
meant they would be saved. To the Sangara people he gave a sign
of red fire, which meant they would all die.

731 We note that this way of explaining the disaster is concerned
with a precontact social macrosystem comprising two allied
829 groups, the Sasembata and Isivita, and their traditional enemies,
the Sangara. It is not concerned with the contemporary macrosystem which is the system of relations holding between Papuans, the government, and the mission. Neither the government nor the mission enters into the explanation. Furthermore, the explanation emphasizes the tribal boundary between the Sangara people and those designated as the Waseta tribe by Williams (1940).[14] It is, in fact, the opposition between Sangara and Waseta that is stressed by this explanation.

It is precisely this opposition that makes clear the strategic and manipulative nature of the argument. Waseta are using the occasion of the eruption to score a point against their old rivals and enemies the Sangara, who deserved to be punished as retribution for earlier acts of war. The explanation ignores the fact that ninety-two Waseta also were killed in the disaster.

At this point we recognize the explanation as part of a connotative system. Any reasonable explanation of the disaster would account for all the deaths. The division of the dead into tribal or ethnic groups is logically insignificant. In a connotative system, 829 627 weapon, since the person who cuts down his own tree to injure himself shows anger about a hostile act perpetrated by some unnamed person. He thus makes a claim for community sympathy and possible restitution (Williams 1940). Self-accusation is a form of self-injury and therefore at once places an obligation on the *sufferer* of the supposed original injury. In this sense an acknowledgment of guilt by Orokaiva would place some obligation on Sumbiripa or God to forgive them. Thus we can never ignore the transactional element in what is manifestly a sincere state of contrition.

781 784 797 It is far more complicated to explain the anger of the Christian God, and people's belief in it, than to explain the anger of Sumbiripa. At the time of the eruption, few Orokaiva had been baptized, whereas it was precisely in Sangara territory that the mission was well established and had many adherents. Most of the persons who thought they had been punished by God were actually still pagan, which strictly should have put them out of reach of his wrath. We need to reconstruct as best we can what kind of exchange relationship was deemed to exist in 1951.

We can appraise this only if we consider briefly the total system of relationships of the Orokaiva within the colonial macrosystem, namely the social unit comprising Orokaiva, mission, government, and traders. Theories about the punishment of God referred not only to Orokaiva neglect of the mission but also neglect of instructions and advice given by the government. The traders were never mentioned.

[657] [797] One common characteristic of government and mission is that both institutions believe they are the Papuans' benefactors and say so on many occasions. In particular, it is on these supposed benefits that they base any moral claims they make on the Orokaiva. When the eruption occurred it was therefore reasonable, from the Orokaiva viewpoint, to conclude that their slowness in satisfying the claims of government and mission had aroused in them great anger and that God, who manifestly was looking after the white authorities, acted as agent of the punishment.

829 431 177 In exchange relations it is a fixed policy to satisfy the claims of important partners first and be much slower about the others. The fact that the whites, in spite of their immense wealth, had a fairly low partnership ranking is not difficult to explain. If we glance at the kind of interaction typical of the years 1900 to 1950, we find

829 431 177 that the European exchange partner did not have a great deal to offer the Orokaiva, because not even money was essential. Conversely, the fear of the trouble the white man might cause was not so great as one might suppose. Certainly, there were horrifying stories about what the white man might do if angered, but the Orokaiva had since learned some simple rules telling them how such anger could be most conveniently evaded.

657 177 177 Until World War II, the relationship between the Orokaiva and the government followed this general pattern almost entirely. The government made the regulations and the Orokaiva did the unavoidable minimum. World War II began to change the pattern of this partnership. Australian and American soldiers moved into the Northern District to drive out the Japanese. They camped in the bush, they shared their food with the Orokaiva, they accepted Orokaiva hospitality, they generously distributed what supplies they had to spare. The white soldier, unlike the civilian, lived in a style much closer to what the Orokaiva consider human. He laughed and joked in the presence of the Orokaiva; he put on no colonial pretense.

657 177 After the war, the Australian government changed its policy in the territory, suppressing corporal punishment of employees, emphasizing economic development in the villages, improving schooling, introducing local self-government on a limited scale (and later political representation in the House of Assembly), offering Papuans jobs of some responsibility, and discontinuing the type of village policing that made all reforms dependent on the enforcement of regulations. The village constables, whose job was in practice confined to reporting infractions of the regulations, were replaced by elected officials (local government councillors) who are indoctrinators rather than policemen. They harangue the people with a diffuse message covering a wide area of social and economic development. They seek to secure acceptance for new ideas, so that people will genuinely believe in the usefulness of changes they are making.

657 179 When I visited the Orokaiva in 1966–1967, I found a great deal of ideological discussion, the key concept being *iji eha* ('the new day, the new age')—a new way of life based on the economics of coffee growing and wage earning, the social amenities of improved villages, school education, Christianity, avoidance of violence, and, generally, cooperation with the mission and administration. I

657 was amazed to see how closely the councillors' harangues and
other speechmaking in the villages corresponded to official poli-
179 cies. Many of the advocated ideas were not being put into prac-
tice, but generally the transition seemed rather smooth. There
were conflicts between the Orokaiva and their mentors, in some
instances irreconcilable ones, but it seemed that consideration of
these conflicts was being deferred because there was evidence of
steady improvement, as long as coffee prices would only keep
rising.

829 Informants, when asked when the 'new age' had started, all replied that it was after the Japanese were driven out. The eruption was never mentioned as the beginning of the 'new age'. It was after the war that the money economy became important and men began to take jobs outside the village for protracted periods. It was then that money became a necessary part of bridewealth so that, as an initiatory ritual, every young man had to have earned some. It was after the war that village improvement started seriously, as the history of individual Orokaiva villages shows.

731 The eruption of Mount Lamington in 1951 came a few years
after these beginnings, at a time when the impact of money was
179 not yet great, though the government and mission had had time to
communicate the new order they sought to establish and to press
for changes the Orokaiva were not too ready to accept. The erup-
tion strengthened the message. On the transactional level, there
was the large-scale help offered by the Europeans after the erup-
tion. This was done in the most dramatic way possible, by planes
dropping their riches in great abundance shortly after the disaster.
177 Certainly such a massive display of concern in a moment of need
did much to enhance the image of Europeans as desirable ex-
change partners. This display was followed by the organization of
the camps and by the widespread introduction, especially at Ilimo
Camp, of activities that were symbolic of the 'new age'.

Daily church services were conducted, all children were given regular schooling, adults were educated in a number of new agricultural and technical skills, good medical services were provided, and regular food and clothing distributions continued. New ideas on housing, village layouts, and women's handicrafts, lectures on how trade goods are manufactured in Australia, the presence of a strong development-oriented and numerous European staff—all these elements must have amazed the Orokaiva villager of 1951, 731 179 whose contact with this aspect of European culture heretofore had been rather slight. The impact of these intensive programs should not be overestimated, however. For people whose world had been shattered by disaster and relocation, adult education was, according to administrators involved in the program, hardly a major concern. Belshaw (1951) expressed the view that the villagers would agree to almost any reform in their villages, as long as they would be allowed to leave Ilimo quickly and return to their land.

731 177 Nonetheless, the terms of the exchange relationship between administration and mission on the one hand and the Orokaiva on the other had become a great deal clearer and more profound. The Australians had made gifts and had stated what they wanted from the Orokaiva in detailed, explicit terms. Furthermore, this had been done under the shadow of a calamity which was interpreted by the mission as a sign of God, if not God's punishment, indicating the dangers of not satisfying the Orokaiva's new exchange partners.

731 784 797 The administration has leveled much criticism against the mission for promulgating the theory that the eruption was a visitation of the wrath of God. Numerous instances are quoted of ecclesiastical blackmail: the bishop allegedly threatened to blow up the mountain a second time unless he was obeyed. The bishop denies these allegations and claims to have discouraged the belief that the eruption was a divine punishment of the (largely unbaptized) Orokaiva. He said it was the Orokaiva themselves who had this idea of retribution.

128 To explain the Orokaiva idea of the anger of God found in the preceding pages, I have brought together a somewhat haphazard collection of signs which make no sense if arranged in a synchronic pattern. They are a sequence of transactions which took place within the colonial macrosystem and were selected on no other grounds than that they were commonly invoked by Orokaiva in discourse about the 'new age'. Soldiers on punitive expeditions, physical punishment at the plantations, the warm exchange relations with Allied troops, the local government councils viewed as a gift from the whites to the Papuans—all these are random selections from history and owe their place in the analysis of the metalanguage to the fact that the Orokaiva commonly used them to signify the opposition 'old order/new age'.

731 784 776 797 Earlier in this section, I explained the idea of the 'anger of Sum-

572 602 grasp of certain fundamental psychological principles. For instance, the Orokaiva classification scheme relates the *simbo* kind of friendship symbolically to the marriage bond which, indeed, has the same quality of total interdependence between persons whose consanguineal links are distant, if present at all. Some friendships are indeed of this kind but not all: the Orokaiva system reflects this fact in that some non-kin relationships are classified as *simbo* while others are classified as *apa/eambo*, *otavo*, and so on.

If we cannot distinguish friendship from kinship on the basis of the content (the role attributes) of relationships, it is possible to make a distinction of a formal kind.[10] One characteristic of all friendship relations is that the [601] partners are kept free of ritual avoidances such as those between affines. The wife of a sibling type of friend is given a sibling term of address; the wife of a *simbo* type of friend is herself classified as *simbo*. Another formal characteristic of all these relations is that they are equivalent, but additional to the kinship links of the same type.

[182] The continual threat of warfare and disruptive disputes impels persons to maintain a number of residence and alliance options in many places. Friendships develop especially where the kin universe is inadequate in supplying these options and leaves dangerous gaps in the network; Orokaiva friendship patches the gaps in this network. This seems a humble and subsidiary role indeed. Nonetheless, the existence of a regular mechanism to fill these gaps makes a crucial difference to the nature of the total system. The fact that there is an institutionalized freedom of recruitment of members to each of the *philia* categories opens up the system and gives it a dynamic flexibility. Ascriptive criteria need never fully determine membership groups because a dimension of freedom in recruitment is given by the friendship customs.

[177] [609] This fact offers a useful beginning for an analysis of the relations between Orokaiva and Europeans, as the Orokaiva system had from the beginning certain social concepts which enabled them to fit the Europeans into their scheme of social relations. The fact that they are strangers does not in itself leave them out of social recognition. Time does not permit this line of analysis, but it is worth remarking that in the absence of a friendship category, Orokaiva would not be able to adapt themselves as easily to the modern type of intercourse with other tribes and other races. The Orokaiva never had a truly closed society. They had rules for setting up relations with strangers, and these relations included marriages, as I have shown elsewhere (Schwimmer, 1970a).

121 If we now turn from the Orokaiva case to more general questions regarding friendship, we may suggest that friendship is best regarded as a residual category within the *philia* universe, in that any *philia* universe must contain a regular process for the recruitment of strangers. Blau (1964) has described the psychological aspect of this process. The present essay has been

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[10] I am using "form" and "content" in the same sense as Levi-Strauss (1958).

THE SELF AND THE PRODUCT:

Concepts of Work in Comparative Perspective

ERIK SCHWIMMER

Introduction[1]

121 The cross-cultural comparison of concepts is part of the anthropologist's trade. Whatever the concept, we find ourselves asking whether anything resembling it exists among the people we study. The concept presents itself very often in English: law, government, religion, friendship, reciprocity. A school of thought often arises which holds that the concept is not universal but confined to a limited set of cultures, inevitably including our own. Such a suggestion is usually opposed by others who propose definitions of the concepts so as to make them look universal. The concept of *work* is clearly of that type.

There are good reasons for thinking that this concept is a product of 18th century Europe and the industrial revolution. Work as a concept is based on the assumption that, from a certain viewpoint, all economically useful activities are fully comparable by a yardstick transcending their diversity, in other words, that labour has become a commodity and that the technical and administrative direction of that labour has become part of the same kind of commodity. This is a perspective with which we have become familiar through Mandeville, political economy and Marxism (Baudrillard 1973; [461] [177] Dumont 1977). On the other hand, it has been shown that the Ancient Greeks had no corresponding concept (Vernant 1965) and it is not difficult to show that the Melanesians did not have it either, until they came into contact with western capitalism. One of my Orokaiva informants was categorical on this point: "The people of olden times," he said, "did not take up work (*pure*) for it was only Jesus Christ who gave them work (*pure*) to take up."[2]

On the other hand, some very prominent authors have presented 'work' as a universal concept. One of them was Karl Marx to whom the concept 'work' was just as much a universal as man's supposedly perpetual 'transformation of nature to human ends'. In his theory all modes of production have their 'labour force'; what he opposes is

241 461 Time is therefore a highly inappropriate measure of useful activity in Orokaiva gardens. Whether *simbari* is effective or ineffective does not depend just on the time spent. It depends on the warding off of sorcery and hence on ensuring one has no dangerous enemies. It depends on harmony in the family. It depends on avoiding straying pigs, not just by building fences but by being the kind of person into whose garden one does not want one's pigs to stray. The anthropological observer notices a certain selectiveness in Orokaiva pigs . . .

554 461 A great man, or a manager, is not always a gardener. He may be a sorcerer. But if he is a gardener he is a great gardener. He accomplishes his garden as a craftsman accomplishes a model, an ΕΙΔΟΣ, or as Orokaiva say, an *ove*. His image of the world is not [773] dark like that of Hesiod or of Adam's curse. An Orokaiva informant once recorded for me on tape his version of the relevant [177] portion of Genesis:

> [539] "You will bear children, lift string bags, draw water; you will do all those things and be loaded down with sorrow, so He said; and then He spoke to her husband Adam thus: You will take the axe, cut the second growth, chop down the trees, lop off the branches. In the hot sun, in sorrow, with pain all over your body, you will labour hard." He said.
>
> He thereupon determined that Eve and Adam spoke thus: "This is the way we shall all wish to act on earth: our bodies will be painful from work; and the women as well as the men will be in pain and sorrow from hard work. And as our food will be prepared and ready we stay to eat. All right we did not know that God would not let us have what we had taken and eaten."
>
> Therefore God said to them: "Long will be the day of sorrow when you have sorrow, but when you have happy days you will be happy." So he said. Therefore we shall live in this way from now onwards . . ."

This interpretation is not, I believe, merely garbled. It is a clear message that the Orokaiva just will not understand why, after working hard in the sun, they should afterwards eat their bread or taro in sorrow. To them, this is not a mere question of how they would feel, but a moral matter. Whoever wrote the original of this text was obviously lacking in respect for bread or targo.

Daniel de Coppet (1976) rightly suggested gardening in Melanesia was a religious act, like a sacrament, as is also eating the produce. Whatever pain there may be is sacramentally transformed. Man feels his unity with the Taro goddess and also with the garden and the crop.

435 the latter. Also, migrants normally leave behind a family member
436 with the task of looking after the land (*simbari*) in a technical,
magical and juridical sense. Often he also leaves behind a wife for
167 whom he is saving brideprice but who meanwhile must be looked
after by his relatives. Money sent home therefore covers not only
feasting contributions but also the function of *simbari*. This is
not because village people would not perform such services free
of charge but because, when a man earns money, those who help
him earn that money are entitled to their share.

If we look only at the relations of production migrants have in
167 their jobs, they seem totally 'alienated' (cf. Parkin, this volume).
461 Not only have they no control whatever over the product of their
labour but this product lies entirely outside their conceptual
[571] universe. Yet these migrants avoid proletarianization in the full
sense because they continue to have a stake in the village
environment, which has its own economic, political and ideological
base.

435 Our remarks above apply similarly to the village cash-crop sector.
With the exception of coconuts, the use value Orokaiva see in
European cash-crops is either very limited or non-existent. Coffee
and cocoa are classified as non-foods, rubber latex as an unusable
substance. Even the coconut, though an important food when
fresh, represents no use value to Orokaiva when dried into copra.

This lack of perceived utility has not stopped cultivation of
these crops on village land nor their processing by village-purchased
[245] machinery. Everyone irrespective of age is growing coffee. Those
who are pressed for time tend to give priority to coffee and to
partially replace their plantings of taro with 'German taro' –
less valued but less laborious.[21]

Growing coffee is not considered pleasurable like growing taro.
245 When suggesting to an informant that coffee trees have a sweet smell,
824 I was firmly told: "*We* think the smell is dreadful". Such feelings
go to show that the division between the spheres of use value and
461 exchange value is not purely analytical but corresponds to a conceptual boundary between two models of life and work, and that
Orokaiva try to keep this boundary clear. Coffee is grown because
it takes far less time than it would to grow subsistence crops for
the market, but the grower feels alienated from it while he feels
[438] identified with the subsistence crops. A small quantity of subsistence
crops – surplus to requirements – is in fact sold in local markets
for consumption by local people, but growers take the same care
with them and regard them in the same way as the food they eat.

461 It is paradoxical that the work represented as introduced by Jesus

●[177]

461 Christ does not, like traditional work, have a palpable virtue such
• 177 that the good man will succeed at it while the bad man will fail. Any-
one at all can succeed at New Guinea wage labour – *wok mani*
tasol as it is called in Neo-Melanesian.[22] Yet this money, when it
[436] enters the village gift exchange circuit, will establish claims to
status on an equal footing with wealth available only to cultivators
with real traditional power (*ivo*).

525 It is this anomaly that appears to have been coped with by the
New Guinea gambling system. The game called *laki* (lucky) is
777 supposedly a game of pure chance but if chance is with you it
shows that a powerful ancestor is supporting you. Your luck at
the game shows your spiritual resources just as luck at gardening
shows this. It is the people with weaker ancestors who lose.
Medicines are also used to improve luck, but they are secondary.
Evidence for supranatural intervention is that the results of the
game, instead of being random as one would expect from the rules,
[373] always favour the same individuals. Whether these individuals
play honestly I cannot tell, as the game goes on day and night
and only a very weak lantern is used at night, my tilley lamp
being considered unsuitable.

Laki is played by Orokaiva especially when the coffee proceeds have just been distributed and generally whenever a large number of community members receive money from non-traditional sources simultaneously. Play may continue for several days without interruption, until all the money is cleaned up by a single winner. This redistribution restores the traditional status pattern disturbed by the culture hero Jesus Christ.

525 Playing cards are outlawed in Papua New Guinea; nobody is
allowed legally to possess them or to import them. Though this
177 legislation was a response to popular pressure, it was in the churches
that the pressure was in fact generated. It is thus hoped that New
Guineans will eventually allocate status on the basis of the mere
[554] possession of money. The total inefficacy of this government
legislation shows that New Guineans have great difficulty in
[461] accepting this secularized concept of work and status. Magico-
religious tests have the function of hallowing money. They also
assert the supremacy of traditional work concepts over modern
ones.

Alienation in the Creation of Use Values

121 It is especially the French Marxist africanists such as Terray,
Meillassoux, Auge,[23] who have alerted us to the prevalence of
exploitation in tribal or lineage-societies where anthropologists

171 of 5% of male population.[24]

These people were alienated by the criterion we chose because they had been working for someone who refused them what they considered their proper reward – in other words, the right to the product of their labour. At the same time, we note that the phenomenon described by Panoff was marginal: the other 95% of the male population were not alienated.

It is my impression that there are still other alienated categories in Melanesia, especially among defeated groups or clans who lost their land after a war and are reduced to the status of wanderers or, again, who remained on their land but were constantly at the mercy of marauders. When I discussed such cases, I was told by several informants from different villages independently that there were certain weak groups with whom in olden times they practised no exchanges but had only relations of warfare. Such groups evidently possessed some valued resources – not only women but also feathers and other forest products, for instance, but they lay outside the circle where moral principles applied (cf. Williams 1930).[25]

121 The theoretical importance of such cases may be far greater than their statistical importance. These are, after all, the cases projected by Hobbes in his model of the stateless society. Anthropologists have been much concerned to prove Hobbes wrong, but this concern should not blind us to that minority of situations where he may well have been right. There is not, to my knowledge, any Melanesian ideology which validates and elaborates the Hobbesian model, nor the Nietzschian model[26] that gives full weight to the principle of reciprocity while condemning it as a weakness to be transcended. But is even a Melanesian Nietzsche completely inconceivable?

Identification in the Creation of Exchange Values

461 177 794 Our discussion of the culture hero Jesus Christ was necessarily incomplete. For he did not institute merely payment for labour – a real gift to man but, as we have seen, somewhat limited in scope, but he also gave to the white man all his immeasurable wealth and power. But this wealth and power did precisely not, in the New Guineans' estimation, come to the European by his own wage labour. It came by methods New Guineans did not at once understand. This whole cargo ideology is too well documented to need restatement here, but any study of Melanesian work would be quite incomplete unless it included the category of cargo work, i.e. work to obtain cargo.

Conclusion

This paper has been an exercise in semiotic anthropology. Semiotics has always been a part of anthropology (cf. Schwimmer 1977b), but we are becoming more conscious about it and borrowing some methods. We therefore set up a domain, consisting of two sets of oppositions (use value/exchange value; identification/alienation) which seemed to be in some need of clarification. We broke the domain down to its modalities and as a result, I hope, clarified a number of Orokaiva concepts of 'work' – all a little unexpected, probably, and certainly not clear to myself until I began analysis in the form described here. Moreover, the two oppositions that formed the frame have become a little clearer too.

Semiotic anthropology has a limited role, but this role is precisely what has been attempted here: clarifying concepts. I might have made up an abstract model from the modalities and the categories but refrained as it would have added little. I have tried to make the connections visible: semiotics does not compose master schemes, it decomposes them.

Notes

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1. Fieldwork done in the Northern Province of Papua New Guinea (1966–67, 1970, 1973) and used as basis for the present discussion was supported by grants from the Canada Council.

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2. This statement was made to me by Councillor Colin in a taped oration held in Torogota in 1966. His words: '*Iji aramiko ambo ainge eaora. Amina pure mo umbae. Amora pure re Keriso na ikena umbasi ea avo.*'

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3. Melanesian time allocation studies have recently been the subject of a detailed economic analysis (Kirkpatrick 1977). It is of interest that the field studies of time allocation which were given the highest "subjective rating" (ibid. Table 6.1) were Waddell (1972) and Waddell and Krinks (1968). The latter study was conducted in the Orokaiva villages of Ionda and Sivepe, where I myself did intensive research some years later, on a different subject. As I have already published a detailed commentary on the Waddell and Krinks study (Schwimmer 1969: 144–152), I say little about it here. It is, however, highly relevant to a conceptual study such as the present one.

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4. M. Panoff reports that *kuma*, in the sense of subsistence activities, took up an average of four hours per day among the Maenge. He mentions no cash crops. Kirkpatrick's statistics (1977, Table 6.3) show that the mean time spent per man on all agricultural tasks in nine Melanesian villages is about 22 hours per week. One may thus assume that Panoff's figure refers to all tasks making up agricultural activity in Melanesian time allocation studies. But what is here meant by 'activity'? As we show in the present article, it includes not only the main and ancillary agricultural

121 13. This method of setting up semiotic domains for study is probably due to Lévi-Strauss, long before it became canonized as part of the science of semiotics (Eco 1972). See also Schwimmer (1977a), for an Orokaiva example.

14. The term 'manager' instead of the tedious 'big man' is due to Burridge (1969) and is heartily recommended to practitioners.

114 15. I briefly analyzed Williams' Kutubu study (Williams 1976), but missed the full implications of the myth cycle reported by Williams. A reareanalysis of that work, with full use of the myths, is overdue.

16. See for a first analysis Schwimmer (1973), later supplemented by Schwimmer (1974a) (coconut, areca and taro) and (1979a) (pigs).

554 17. A discussion of work specialization among Orokaiva (of which there is
577 but little) will be found in Schwimmer (1967). An interesting type of
specialist not so far described is the expert body decorator (Schwimmer
305 1973: 177, 185) to whom the ritual payment of a pig is due when he
officiates, and who appears to officiate regularly at initiations.

114 18. For a full discussion of the concepts involved see Schwimmer (1979a).

19. The text: "*Umo meni ingesoa, eti atimbasoa, i umbasoa, umo timbasoa;*
773 *donda deire tapa amo aisi oa eto tunga osaga umbasoa.' Ainge ena.*
Ainge ivu ta ena: 'Adam, umo ainge hogoro umbasoa, andage aisi oa
177 *eto i gaipi oa, pure jirembasi oa; iji vevere tunga osago hamo memega re*
539 *tapa pure gaiha aisi oa.' Ainge ena. Ainge eto ikena avo embo Eave te*
Adam te ainge ena: 'Ainge dombo dago tapa endata emo ainge do aisi
uje eagora: pure te deire amo tapa hamo memega te tunga osaga te tapa
pamone ainge ga earora, dago embo ainge hamo memega te tunga osaga te
tapa pure gaiha avo earora. Eto donda matu nunuga ena avo indie
iraetera avo. Aravorate, ungo kiaekiae eto God na taekena avo umbuto
india. Aravo embo eto avo God ena: 'Avo iji koso ami tunga osaga iji
tunga osaga aisi ova, ainge tunga javatoho iji amo tunga javatoho aisi
ova.' Ainge ena. Avo embo dago tapa emo oroho emite ue irora."
Robert, Sivepe, 1966.

694 20. The text: "*Embo handa pirisi embo na punduto umbuto, sokova ari ke*
754 *eto umbuto, Kokoda pambuo, koto ea, aramiko pure mo aravora.*"
Councillor Colin, Tórogota, 1966. After describing a number of devices used by magicians and miracles they wrought, Colin continued: "*Avo da pirisi embo na samani eo pambuto re koto ea, amiko donda aravo porakau aravo pure puvuna.*" Translation: Police handcuffed village people and took them to Kokoda if they were believed to be telling lies. Court was held; then they would start work . . . When a summons was issued by the policeman, then those magic things would be put to work.

245 21. At the time the Waddell and Krinks study was done, only the younger men grew coffee; the authors therefore saw a correlation between age and coffee growing. During my restudy I found this correlation to be false, first because it did not apply to the clan omitted from the earlier authors' chosen sample, and secondly because the oldest men they studied began to grow coffee shortly after their departure. The substitution of German taro (*xantosoma* sp.) for classical taro (*colocasia* sp.)

245 appears to be the standard response to lack of time, rather than foregoing coffee.

177 22. On New Guinea concepts of paid labour and the yield of such labour I
461 learned a great deal from Cloutier (1975–1978).

23. Auge's material on the rich who were inevitably suspected of being zombie
121 masters (1975) is a good illustration of our theme. But on this same phenomenon, see also Ardener (1970).

171 24. For a somewhat similar analysis of suicide, this time in Polynesia, see Firth (1967, Ch. 5) on suicide and risk taking in Tikopia.

25. For a further example of 'exploitation' of the defeated see Meggitt (1977: 25–26).

121 26. In *Zur Genealogie der Moral*, Nietzsche (1954: 761–900) offers a detailed discussion of the principle of reciprocity, concerning which he held views rather radically opposed to those of Marcel Mauss. He regarded it as a delusion to be eradicated. Orokaiva likewise regard it as a delusion if practised outside the 'security circle' (see Schwimmer 1979a).

472 27. This argument, and indeed this entire essay, is close in orientation to
474 Dumont (1977) which can be read as an attempt to set limits on economism in anthropology and elsewhere. We do not question the importance of economics but the delimitation of economics as a separate domain.

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